



Benard sc.



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THE GENERAL
HISTORY of the Late WAR :
CONTAINING IT'S
Rise, Progress, *and* Event,
IN
EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, and AMERICA.

AND EXHIBITING

The STATE of the Belligerent Powers, at the Commencement of the War ; their Interests and Objects in it's Continuation ; and REMARKS on the Measures, which led GREAT BRITAIN to Victory and Conquest.

INTERSPERSED WITH

The CHARACTERS of the able and disinterested STATESMEN, to whose Wisdom and Integrity, and of the HEROES, to whose Courage and Conduct, we are indebted for that

NAVAL and MILITARY

Success, which is not to be equalled in the Annals of this, or of any other Nation.

AND WITH

Accurate Descriptions of the SEAT of WAR, the Nature and Importance of our CONQUESTS, and of the most remarkable BATTLES by Sea and Land.

Illustrated with

A Variety of HEADS, PLANS, MAPS, and CHARTS,
Designed and Engraved by the *best Artists*.

VOL. V.

Historici est : nequid falsi, audeat dicere : nequid veri, non audeat. POLIB.

By the Rev. JOHN ENTICK, M. A.
And other GENTLEMEN.

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PH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM



THE
GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
LATE WAR.

DURING the continuance of our ^{A. D.}
operations against Canada, the French ^{1760.}
peasants and neutrals, and the chiefs ^{French}
of the Indian tribes in Acadia ^{peasants} or ^{and Indi-}
Nova Scotia, convinced that they could hope for ^{ans in}
no protection from their old friends the French, ^{Acadia}
in a fruitless opposition to the English estab- ^{submit.}
lishment in their country, and, foreseeing the
certain conquest of all the province of Canada,
in consequence of the loss of Quebec, they
came, and made their formal submission to the
English commander at Chignecto. The depu-
ties of the French peasants residing at Meri-
michi, Rishebusta, Bouctox, Pircondiack and
Mamevancook, made their submission on the
10th of December, 1759: and a French priest,
who had the charge of the people at Merimichi,

A 2

Rishe-

A. D. 1760. Rishebuëta and Bouëtox, with a number of principal men of those places^a, came again on the 30th of January, to renew their submission in a

^a *Extract of a letter from Colonel Frye to the governor of New England, dated Fort Cumberland, Chignecto, March 7, 1760.*

With the French priest came two Indian chiefs, viz. Paul Lawrence and Augustine Michael : Lawrence tells me he was a prisoner in Boston, and lived with Mr. Henshaw, a blacksmith ; he is chief of a tribe that before the war lived at LaHave : Augustine is chief of a tribe at Rishebuëta. I have received their submissions for themselves and tribes, to his Britannic Majesty, and sent them to Halifax for the terms by Governor Lawrence. I have likewise received the submissions of two other chiefs, whom I dealt with as those before-mentioned, and was in hopes (which I mentioned to Mr. Manach) I had no more treaties to make with savages : but he told me I was mistaken, for there would be a great many more here upon the same business, as soon as the spring-hunting was over ; and upon my enquiring how many, he gave me a list of fourteen chiefs, including those already mentioned, most of whom he said would come.

I was surprized to hear of such a number of Indian chiefs in this part of America ; and Mr. Manach further told me, that they were all of one nation, and known by the name of Mickmacks ; and that they were very numerous, amounting to near 3000 souls ; that he had learned their language since he had been amongst them, and found so much excellence in it, that he was well persuaded, if the beauties of it were known in Europe, there would be seminaries erected for the propagation of it. How that might be, is better known to him than to those who know nothing of the language ; but I think I may venture to say, that if there be so many Indians as he says there are, I know this province, as it abounds very plentifully with furs, may reap a vast advantage by them, provided Canada returns not into the hands of the French.

formal

formal manner, by subscribing to articles drawn
suitable to the case. A. D.
1760.

Nothing more remained to give the finishing blow to the French dominions in North America, but to scour the coasts of their shipping, which kept lurking in the inlets and obscure bays. Some of which had secreted themselves at Ristigouchi, in the bottom of the bay of Chaleurs. Captain Byron, then senior officer of the King's ships at Louisbourg, having notice of them from Brigadier-General Whitmore, immediately sailed with the *Fame*, *Dorsetshire*, *Achilles*, *Scarborough* and *Repulse*, to attack and to destroy them; and he performed this service with great bravery, conduct and honour. Captain Byron destroys the French ships.

But the hostilities, commenced last year by the Cherokees, would not yet permit the British sword to be sheathed. A war that had required the assistance of a detachment of regular forces, under General Abercrombie, in the spring, and now demanded a much stronger force to bring them under subjection, which General Amherst, as soon as he could spare them, sent under Colonel Grant. The Cherokee war

To understand the origin and the object of this war, with the Cherokees; though, it may be very possible, the flame was, at this juncture, particularly blown up by French emissaries; it will be necessary to explain the first cause, upon which this tribe of Indians founded their complaint against the English, and defended the justice and necessity of their taking up arms. Origin of the war with the Cherokee

A. D.

1760.

Description of
their
country.

The Cherokees^b live in one of the healthiest and most beautiful countries in the world, divided into four districts, among the Apalachian mountains; in which were found about forty villages or towns, and about 2000 men fit to bear arms, and trained up for the defence of their country, before their last war with Carolina.

Friends
to the
English.

After that war, they took every opportunity to cultivate a good understanding with the English; and sent, at different times, 4 or 500 men to join our forces, acting on the Ohio against the French. It was in their return home from

Cause of
the complaint
frivolous.

the campaign in the year 1758, that we find the origin of their present enmity. They had lost most of their horses in our service: and in their way made free with some stray horses on the back parts of Virginia: which hitherto had been passed over, as a petty offence; but the back settlers

Severely
punished.

rung the alarm, and the Virginian militia fell upon them suddenly, and killed many of the Cherokees, not the least suspecting that they should be treated as enemies, by a nation they had been serving with the risk of their lives. But, though they were obliged at present to retire; they could not forgive the injury, and sought an opportunity

Their dis-
gust.

to take satisfaction. They could not reconcile the severe treatment they met with from the Virginians, purely for taking up a few wild horses to carry them home, who had not only lost their own in the defence of

^b See note ^d on page 184, Vol. I.

the English, but had neglected their hunting season, which is the Indian harvest; quitted their homes, and endured a fatigue march of 1200 miles out and in. This disgust was aggravated by the ill usage, they had met with in trade, and in the unwarrantable behaviour of the traders and their servants, who resided in the Cherokee towns, and debauched their wives and daughters. Which sort of conduct conveyed to the sensible Indians, a very mean opinion of all Europeans; and disposed them the more to seek revenge: and this quarrel with the Virginians opened such a field to their resentment, that they were soon at war with other neighbouring colonies. For, their war-parties, unacquainted with the provincial boundaries, frequently mistook North Carolina for Virginia, and once scalped^c a woman and child within the borders of South Carolina. At last, advice being received, that these Indians threatened Fort Loudon, and that they had actually killed a pack-horseman, to which act they were particularly spirited on by French emissaries, who promised to march to their aid and assistance; it was resolved to punish them.

Hostilities

The government of South Carolina were justly offended at these insults, and resolved to resent, and to endeavour to put a stop to them, by a proper and early exertion of the provincial strength, and to reduce the Indians to reason. For this purpose the legislature enabled Governor Lyttleton to raise and maintain a body of men, and

Defeated
and re-
pelled.

^c They both got to Charles-Town, and recovered.

A. D. 1760. his Excellency, with great zeal and activity immediately embodied and marched with 800 militia and 300 regular troops, into the Cherokee country; providing in the mean time for the safety of Fort Loudon, by a reinforcement sent thither under the command of Captain Stuart.

Force raised against them.

Their head men apply to the governor.

Pacific proposal.

Their political state.

This reinforcement marched through part of the Cherokee-country, to the place of their destination; which, with Captain Stuart's further information of the preparations making at Charles-Town, to commence hostilities against them, so terrified the Indians, that many of their head-men, who were unwilling to break with the province, set out immediately for Charles-Town^d, with a resolution to give the government all the satisfaction in their power, without having recourse to arms, for any mischief their unmanageable young men might have done, and to settle all differences amicably, or, to use their own phraseology, "To brighten the chain of friendship, that began to rust, between them and the English their brethren."

Our American correspondent, to whom we are indebted for this whole account, here remarks, That the Indian nation behind our settlements did never acknowledge themselves to be subjects of Great Britain; but only to be the friends and brethren of the English. And to illustrate this, he remarks, That it is certain they are not subject to our laws; That they have no magistrates

^d About the middle of October 1759.

appointed

appointed over them by our Kings ; That they have no representatives in our assembly ; That their own consent is necessary to engage them in war on our side ; That they have the power of life and death, of peace and war in their own councils, without being accountable for their actions to any power on earth ; That subjection is what they are unacquainted with in their own state ; and, their chiefs being such only in virtue of their credit, and not of their power, that there is no such thing as coercive power amongst them. All which is necessary to be well considered, to account for many particulars in the following proceedings, and their conduct.

A. D.
1760.

The governor met them, some days after their arrival, in the council chamber ; and, among other things, told them “ That he was well acquainted with their depredations or evil practices against the English. That he would soon be in their country, and would there let them know his demands, and the satisfaction he required : and if they should then refuse it, he would take it ; That as they came down to treat with him as friends, he would not yet look upon them as enemies ; That they should go home in safety, and not a hair of their heads be touched ; but, as he had many warriors abroad, he could not answer for their safety, unless they marched with his army.” Occonostota, the great warrior and chief of this party, began to make a reply ; but the governor, resolved that nothing should prevent his expedition, suddenly

The governor's
speech.

Promises
a safe conduct.

A. D. 1760. denly quitted his seat, and said he would hear nothing they had to say.

Army
marches.

In a few days his Excellency set out for the Congarees, 140 miles from Charles-Town, the place of rendezvous for the militia. The Indians marched with the regulars and provincials, and behaved very quietly and orderly to this place.

Indian
chiefs
made pri-
soners.

But on their arrival at the Congarees, the governor being informed, as supposed, by the commandant of Fort Prince George, that the Indians were prepared and resolved to fight him, as soon as their head-men in his army should get safe back to their own country; he placed a captain's guard over them, till he arrived with his army to the said fort, where his Excellency dismissed the women and children, and the inferior Indians, and detained and confined thirty-two of their principal men, in an apartment belonging to Fort Prince George.

The go-
vernor
sends for
Attakul-
lakulla.

The governor, in his march, had sent to invite Attakullakulla, or the Little Carpenter, to meet him at this fort, who was, at that juncture, from home with a war-party against the French. But upon the receipt of this message, at his return, this sensible and faithful Indian made the best of his way to the English camp, and arrived at Fort Prince George about ten days after their arrival, and presented Governor Lyttleton with a prisoner * he had taken from the French.

His con-
ference
with the
governor.

His Excellency, at the first conference, which was next day, put the Little Carpenter in mind

* He had also some scalps, and several more prisoners.

of

of the several treaties that had been made between A. D. 1760. the English and Cherokees, of the great kindness of the first to the other; at all times: he likewise Governor's speech. informed him of the glorious successes of the English, and the madness it would be in the Cherokees, to depend on the French, or any other European power, except the English, for protection or support. He then mentioned many of the outrages committed by his countrymen: and added, that he was come there with a large army to get satisfaction; and that he demanded 24 Cherokees, of those that had been most active against the English, to be delivered up to him, to be put to death, or otherwise to be disposed of, as his Britannic Majesty should direct, or that they must expect all the severities of war.

The Little Carpenter, in his answer, said, that he well remembered the treaties, as he had a Attakull's lakulla's share in making most of them: he acknowledged the kindness of the English of Carolina; but complained much of the usage his people had met with from Virginia, which was the first cause of all the troubles: That he had always been a good friend to the English, which his last fatiguing expedition against their enemies, the French, was a sufficient proof of: That he would still continue to be their friend, and use all the influence he had with his people, to give the satisfaction demanded: but, that he believed, it could not be complied with; as they had *no coercive power* over one another; however, all the mischief was done, said he, by the mad young men of

A. D. 1760. of the lower towns, where he had not much influence, he desired the governor to release some of the head-men, he had then in confinement in the fort, to assist, and he would at least convince the governor how inclinable he was to satisfy him. He said he was pleased to hear of the success of the English; but thought they were harder on his people, than on any other Indians, who had disoblged them. He said, he remembered, that some years ago, the Chaftaws had killed many white men belonging to Carolina, and that no satisfaction had been demanded of them.

Three head-men released. The governor on this released three head-men, Occonostota, the great warrior of the nation, Tiftowee, chief man of Keowee, and the head warrior of Estatoe: and they, in two or three days, delivered up two men to the governor; one of them was the person, who had scalped the woman and child before-mentioned. This greatly alarmed their nation: all, that suspected themselves liable to be given up, got out of the way.

Return home. The Little Carpenter, finding it was impossible to give any further satisfaction at present, resolved to go home, and wait the event of things; and Recalled. was actually 10 miles on his way, when the governor, (December the 25th) sent Lieutenant Coytmore after him, to desire that he would come back to him; which he did, next day about 11 o'clock; and about four it was reported, that a peace^f was concluded

^f Treaty of peace and friendship concluded by his Excellency William Henry Lyndleton, Esq; Captain-General, and Governor in Chief

concluded with the Indians. This treaty was signed, on the part of the Indians, by the Carpenter ^{A. D. 1760.} Treaty signed.

of his Majesty's province of South Carolina, with Attakulla-kulla, or the Little Carpenter, Deputy of the whole Cherokee nation, and other Head-men and Warriors thereof, at Fort Prince George, Dec. 26, 1759.

Art. I. There shall be a firm peace and friendship between all his Majesty's subjects of this province, and the nation of Indians called the Cherokees; and the said Cherokees shall preserve peace with all his Majesty's subjects whatsoever.

Art. II. The articles of friendship and commerce, concluded by the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, with the deputies of the Cherokees, by his Majesty's command, at Whitehall, the 7th of September, 1730, shall be strictly observed for the time to come.

Art. III. Whereas the Cherokee Indians have, at sundry times and places, since the 19th of November, 1758, slain divers of his Majesty's good subjects of this province, and his excellency the governor having demanded that satisfaction should be given for the same, according to the tenor of the said articles of friendship and commerce afore-mentioned: in consequence whereof two Cherokee Indians, of the number of those who have been guilty of perpetrating the said murders, have already been delivered up, to be put to death, or otherwise disposed of, as his excellency the governor shall direct; it is hereby stipulated and agreed, that 22 other Cherokee Indians, guilty of the said murders, shall, as soon as possible, after the conclusion of this present treaty, in like manner be delivered up to such persons as his excellency the governor, or the commander in chief of this province for the time being, shall appoint to receive them, to be put to death, or otherwise disposed of, as the said governor and commander in chief shall direct.

Art. IV. The Cherokee Indians, whose names are herein after mentioned, viz. Chenohe, Ousanatah, Tallichama, Tallitahe, Quarrafattahe, Connasoratah, Kataetoi, Otassite of

A. D. 1760. penter and another warrior, that came with him, and by four others, of those that were confined, and who thereby immediately got their liberty, leaving 22 of their number in the governor's hands, ges.

of Watogo, Onfanoletah of Jore, Kataeletah of Cowetche, Chisquatalone, Skiagusta of Sticoe, Tannaeste, Wohatche, Wyeyah. Oucah, Chistanah, Nicholehe, Tony, Totaiah-hoi, Shalilloske, Chistie, shall remain as hostages for the due performance of the foregoing articles, in the custody of such persons as his excellency the governor shall please to nominate for that purpose; and when any of the Cherokee Indians, guilty of the said murders, shall have been delivered up, as is expressed in the said articles, an equal number of the said hostages shall forthwith be set at liberty.

Art. V. Immediately after the conclusion of this present treaty, the licensed traders from this government, and all persons employed by them, shall have leave from his excellency the governor to return to their respective places of abode in the Cherokee nation, and to carry on their trade with the Cherokee Indians, in the usual manner, according to law.

Art. VI. During the continuance of the present war between his most sacred Majesty and the French King, if any Frenchman shall presume to come into the Cherokee nation, the Cherokees shall use their utmost endeavours to put him to death, as one of his Majesty's enemies: or, if taken alive, they shall deliver him up to his excellency the governor, or the commander in chief of this province for the time being, to be disposed of as he shall direct; and if any person whatsoever, either white man or Indian, shall at any time bring any messages from the French into the Cherokee nation, or hold any discourses there in favour of the French, or tending to set the English and Cherokees at variance, and interrupt the peace and friendship established by this present treaty, the Cherokees shall use their utmost endeavours to apprehend such person or persons, and detain him or them until they shall have given notice thereof to his excellency the governor, or

hands, as hostages, till they should compleat the number demanded. This they did with great reluctance, but could not help it, as those they left were already prisoners.

Every thing seemed at present to wear a good aspect. The Indians gave testimony of their sincere intentions to perform their part of the treaty in the most rigorous and difficult article, by bringing to the commander in chief for the time being, and have received his directions therein.

Given under my hand and seal at Fort Prince George, in the province of South Carolina, this 26th day of December, 1759, in the 33d. year of his Majesty's reign.

William-Henry Lyttleton (L. S.)

By his excellency's command,

William Drayton, Sec.

We whose names are under-written do agree to all and every of these articles, and do engage, for ourselves and our nation, that the same shall be well and faithfully performed. In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals the day and year above-mentioned.

Attakullakulla (L. S.)

Ouconnostota (L. S.)

Otaffite (L. S.)

Kitagusta (L. S.)

Oconoeca (L. S.)

Killcannobca (L. S.)

Joseph Axson,
William Forster, } Sworn Interpreters.

Witness,

Henry Hyrne, Adjutant-General.

[Attakullakulla, the Little Carpenter, who concluded this treaty in behalf of the Cherokee Indians, was in England, and at court several times, in the year 1730.]

ing

A. D. 1760. ing in, and delivering up, another of their people, for whom one of the hostages was released.

Motives for breaking the treaty by the Indians.

But the chiefs, or head-men, who ventured their credit with their own people, by exercising a coercive power, to which they had no national right, in the execution of this treaty, finding that they were not able to obtain any mitigation, as expected, in this almost impracticable article, and that they were not to hope for the redress of any grievances they had to complain of against the British subjects, till it was fully performed; and disgusted at the appointment of the very person they disliked most, on a belief that he had been a principal cause of their troubles, to the chief command in the fort; and with the confinement of their chiefs, who had been promised liberty to return home, and safety to their persons, by the governor in his first conference with them in Charles Town; they joined in the determination of their nation to begin open war in defiance of a treaty, which, they said, they had been obliged to sign under restraint; and what was not, in the nature of the conditions, in their power to perform. So that the governor had but just dismissed his army, and returned to Charles Town, before the

Their first attempt. Cherokees appeared in arms.

Their first attempt was to seize upon Fort Prince George by stratagem. A party of Indians advanced to the fort under the pretext of delivering up some more murderers. But this was not conducted with that cunning, as to prevent a discovery of some suspicious circumstances in the behaviour of

of the savages; which put the commandant so much upon his guard, that their purpose was prevented. However, those revengeful people wrecked their vengeance upon the defenceless English traders, and back settlements; beginning with the house of a trader about a mile and a half from the fort, where they murdered every white person to the number of 13 or 14, and about 200 of them made incursions as far as Loug Canes, and the forks of the Broad River, and cut off about 40 of the settlers.

A. D.
1760.

Fails.

Barbarities
and murders.

This massacre happened about the end of January; and an accident happened about the middle of February, which put an end to all means of an accommodation.

Oconostota got an Indian woman to tell Lieutenant Coytmore, that he had something of consequence to say to him, and desired to speak with him at the river side: which this gentleman imprudently consenting to, he was shot at and mortally wounded, during his conversation with the warrior, cross the river, by a party of Indians, who had been hid among the bushes for this base purpose. On this the soldiers of the garrison were permitted to fall upon the unfortunate prisoners, called hostages, who were all butchered in a manner shocking to humanity. And as by this massacre many of the headmen lost relations and friends, it fired them with an implacable desire of revenge. They set out immediately upon the first advice thereof, in different parties, against the settlements, and their vengeance fell with a heavy hand on the innocent

Lieutenant
Coytmore
shot.

Hostages
butchered.

Indian
revenge.

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1760.

Inability
of South
Carolina.

Colonel
Montgo-
mercy sent
to their
assistance.

Carries fire
and sword
into the
Cherokee
country.

and defenceless planters: many men, women, and children, were barbarously murdered: many who fled into the woods lost themselves and perished miserably; and many were carried into captivity; and those who were best off, and escaped the savages, were reduced from plenty to beggary. This desolation extended upwards of 100 miles: every hour brought to Charles Town accounts of ravages, depredations, scalpings and ruin; the unhappy sufferers called aloud for assistance and protection: but alas! the province (distressed by the expence of Mr. Littleton's expedition, which cost upwards of 20,000l. sterling, and at the same time afflicted with the small pox, of which horrid disease, no less than 3000 lay ill at Charles Town) was unable of itself to manage this war.

General Amherst was applied to for help: and, though preparing for the expedition against Montreal, he immediately sent 1200 choice men, under the command of the Honourable Colonel Montgomery. This excellent officer arrived at Charles Town in April; directly marched towards the Indians, and by an extraordinary spirited march of 60 miles, without halting reached and surprized the lower settlements, burnt all their towns, took about 40 prisoners, and drove the rest to seek for shelter and subsistence among the other divisions.

The

Charles-Town, June 10. *By Authority.*

The following letter to his honour the lieutenant governor, containing a particular account of the success of his Majesty's arms, under

The Colonel rested his men some days at Fort Prince George, and then proceeded to give the Indians

A. D.
1760.

der the command of the Honourable Colonel Montgomery, is published for the information and satisfaction of the public.

S I R,

I informed you in my letter by Price, that we should march the 28th from Ninety-six, which we did, and arrived the 1st of this month at Twelve-mile river, having had that pass sufficiently reconnoitred the night before; and that morning we passed it without opposition, and drew up, about 11 o'clock, upon a rising ground near the river. About four in the afternoon our carriages got to the camp, having been brought up those steep and rocky banks by the force of men: the horses could not do it, being fatigued and worn out with a march of 84 miles, without a halting day.

As we met with no opposition at Twelve-mile river, and at the same time our scouts finding no Indian tracks near us, both Colonel Montgomery and I were convinced, that they knew nothing of our march, and we were resolved to take advantage of their negligence, by a forced march that night; though the troops were a little fatigued with a march of twenty miles that morning, from Beaver-Dams to the river: we therefore encamped in a square, upon very advantageous ground, and leaving our tents standing, with 120 of the king's troops, a few provincials, and about 70 rangers, as a guard to our camp, waggons, cattle, &c. we marched at eight at night through the woods in order to surprize Estatoe, which by that road was about 25 miles from our camp upon the river. After we had marched about sixteen miles, a dog was heard barking at some distance in our front, and the guides informed us, that there were a few houses about a quarter of a mile from the road, called Little Keowee, of which they had not informed us before: to prevent any inconvenience from these houses, the light infantry company of the Royal was detached to surround the houses, and put the Indians to death with their bayonets. We learnt, by a scout, which had been at Fort

A. D. 1760. Indians further chastisement. He penetrated into their middle settlements, but in his way was attacked

Prince George that very day, they were encamped near the houses, and, upon discovering our men, they fired at them; a few of ours returned the fire, but immediately rushed in upon them, and most of those who were without the houses, and all who were in them, were put to death with bayonets, except the women and children, according to the orders which had been given.

We proceeded directly on our march to Estatoe, and found a few houses on the road just deserted; the beds were warm, and every thing was left in the houses, which you may believe did not escape. We arrived early in the morning at Estatoe, which was abandoned about half an hour before; ten or a dozen of them, who had not time to escape, were killed: the town, consisting of about 200 houses well provided with amunition, corn, and, in short, all the necessities of life, was plundered and laid in ashes: many of the inhabitants who had endeavoured to conceal themselves, I have reason to believe, perished in the flames, some of them I know of, for certain did. In order to continue the blow, and to shew those savages that it was possible to punish their insolence, we proceeded on our march, took all their towns in our way, and every house and town in the Lower Nation shared the same fate with Estatoe. I could not help pitying them a little: their villages were agreeably situated, their houses neatly built, and well provided, for they were in the greatest abundance of every thing: they must be pretty numerous. Estatoe and Sugar-Town consisted at least of 200 houses, and every other village of at least 100 houses. After killing all we could find, and burning every house in the nation, we marched to Keowee, and arrived the 2d of June (after a march of about 60 miles without sleeping) at four in the evening at Fort Prince George.

There must have been from 60 to 80 Cherokees killed, with about 40 prisoners, I mean men, women, and children. Those who escaped must be in a miserable condition, and can possibly

tacked by a large body of Indians, who had taken possession of a very advantageous post on his road, from

A. D.
1760.

possibly have no resource but flying over the mountains, in case their friends there will receive them : they can have saved nothing : some of them had just time to run out of their beds, others left their sepann warm upon the table, and in their kettles. The surprize in every town was almost equal, as the whole affair was the work of a few hours only. They had both at Estatoe and Sugar-Town, plenty of ammunition, which was destroyed, and every where astonishing magazines of corn, which were all consumed in the flames : they had not even time to save their most valuable effects : the soldiers found money in many houses : three or four watches were got, their wampum, their cloaths, skins, and, in short, every thing. Many loaded guns went off when the houses were burning. I had almost forgot to tell you, that we intended to save Sugar-Town, as the place nearest the fort, (where they even had a stockade fort) : centries were placed for the security of the town ; but we found the body of a dead man, whom they had put to the torture that very morning : it was then no longer possible to think of mercy.

Our loss is very inconsiderable, three or four men killed, and Lieutenant Marshal and Hamilton, of the Royal, wounded : it is hoped both will recover, though Mr. Marshal is not out of danger.

The correction you will allow has been pretty severe. I dare say the whole nation will readily come into terms, and will not be very fond of breaking them ; and I think peace with them is a very desirable event for this province. We shall make use of Tiftowe and the old warrior of Estatoe, by setting them at liberty, to inform their nation, that, though they are in our power, we are ready to give them peace, as they were formerly friends and allies to the white people : and we shall send off an express this evening to Captain Demere, to inform him of what has happened, and to desire him to acquaint the Little Carpenter with it, and to tell him, that he

A. D. 1760. from which he drove them with difficulty: they killed and wounded near 100 of his men; on which account he was obliged to return, as his party was only intended for a coup de main; neither had he tools to throw up or form posts for the wounded.—On his march downwards, he received orders from General Amherst to embark

His loss,
and return.

may come down with some other head-men to treat, but it must be done in a few days, or he may expect to see all the towns in the upper nation in ashes; but that we are willing to give his people terms on his account. Captain Stuart will be directed to come with them: and we shall insist upon the Little Carpenter's procuring some corn for the fort, till supplies can be sent them. We shall only continue here until we have settled with the Cherokees. It will be necessary that you should write a letter to encourage some of the Rangers to carry flour and cattle to Fort Loudon, and to thank them for their behaviour here. They have acted with spirit, have done what they were ordered, and have been of great use to the detachment. Captain Grinnan has distinguished himself by his readiness to do every thing he was desired; and in short, I am extremely well pleased with the whole.

I have been a good deal out of order since we returned to Fort Prince George. I am a little better to day, but am a good deal fatigued in writing several letters. I shall be glad to hear from you as soon as possible. Colonel Montgomery desires his respect to you: he does not trouble you with a letter, as I have wrote so fully; but he begs that you may forward one of the inclosed letters to General Amherst, by an express schooner, if no other opportunity offers.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient,
and most humble servant,

*Camp near Fort Prince George,
June 4, 1760.*

JAMES GRANT,

immedi-

immediately for New York, which he did about the middle of August. A. D. 1760.

The Cherokees had long importuned this province to build a fort among them, over the hills, to be a protection for their women and children, if at any time it should be necessary for them to go to war against our enemies, or their own. This request was complied with in 1756, and a fort built on the Tannasse river, which joins the Ohio, some way before this last river is lost in the Mississippi.—This fort, named after Lord Loudon, was garrisoned by the independent companies, and sufficiently strong to resist any force, that could be brought against it; but, from its situation, impossible to be supported with provisions, or relieved if the Cherokees should be our enemies. In the latter end of 1759 Governor Lyttleton sent Captain John Stuart, with 100 provincials, to reinforce the Garrison, which certainly had this bad consequence, viz. reducing them to the necessity of quitting the fort for want of provisions, some months sooner than they otherwise would have done.—All the summer 1760, they had been living on horse-flesh, with such vegetables as they could gather on the sides of the rocks within the fort. The unfortunate garrison being at last without this resource, the commanding officer was obliged to capitulate with the Indians, about the middle of August, surrendering to them the fort and part of the ammunition; the Indians obliging themselves not to molest them, on their march to Fort Prince George, and to hunt for them, to support them

Account
of Fort
Loudon.

Reinforced.

Garrison
eat horse-
flesh.

Surrenders
to the In-
dians.

A. D.
1760.

Indians
break the
capitula-
tion.

Number
killed.

Ransomed.

Indians
not dis-
posed for
peace.

Affairs in
the East
Indies.

them on the road. This capitulation they villainously broke, and on the second morning, after our people had quitted the fort, they suddenly attacked them about the dawn of day, killing twenty-seven, including four officers; the rest surrendering, as resistance was in vain, were made slaves by the Indians. This was a very severe correction for the massacre at Fort Prince George, but not so barbarous as it; for our people, near 200 men, had both arms and ammunition, consequently able to make some defence. They were all redeemed since, some by themselves; but the greatest number by the province of South Carolina, at a considerable expence.

The behaviour of the Indians to this garrison shewed, that they had yet no inclination for peace. General Amherst was again applied to, who sent Colonel Grant, with two companies of the seventeenth regiment, two of the twenty-second regiment, and the ninety-fifth regiment. Which force, and the wise conduct of the Colonel, and Lieutenant Governor Bell, made them more submissive, and to sue for peace, on conditions very advantageous to the province of South Carolina, and honourable to Colonel Grant.

The British arms maintained their superiority and honour with no less bravery in the East Indies^b. The governor and council of Madras being informed that General Lally had sent a detachment of his army to the southward, and that

^b See the state of war in the East Indies, on page 199, Vol. IV,

the party had taken Syringham, and threatened Trichinopoly with a siege, Colonel Coote was ordered to take the field, and to endeavour to draw the enemy from their intention. Pursuant to this order the army marched from Conjevram, on the 25th of November 1759, and next day a detachment, under Major Brereton, invested Wandewash. Two batteries being erected and ready to play, the governor was summoned to surrender, which being rejected, they began to fire with such execution, that a breach was made on the thirteenth. Which so intimidated the Kelledar, or Moorish governor, that he privately offered to Colonel Coote to deliver up the town, and the French garrison, provided he himself might be continued in the government of the fort. But the French getting intelligence of this negotiation, got upon the walls, and called out to our people that they were ready to surrender. By which five officers and sixty-three private men, Europeans, were made prisoners, besides 500 Sepoys.

A. D.
1760.

Wandewash
invested.

Surrenders.

This conquest was immediately followed by that of Carnagoly. The English invested this place on the sixth of December. It was defended by one hundred Europeans and five hundred Sepoys, under the command of Colonel O'Kennely, who, on the eighth, offered to capitulate, on condition that they should not be made prisoners, and be suffered to march to Pondicherry; to which Colonel Coote thought it adviseable to consent. For, though his batteries had made a practicable breach,

Carnagoly
surrenders.

A. D.
1760.

breach, he could not expect a pass over the ditch without a considerable loss of men.

Strength
and designs
of the
French.

The French troops assembled at Arcot, being joined by the detachment from the southward, and by a great number not only of country troops, consisting of horse and Sepoys brought in by M. de Buffly, from the Indian Prince Basaletzing, but by 3000 Maratta horse, and a great number of foot, under the command of Innis Cawn, Morarow's chief; M. Lally resumed the command of the French army; which now consisted, at this place, of near 2500 Europeans besides the Indian forces.

Strength
and resolu-
tions of
the Eng-
lish.

Such preparations obliged the English to collect the best defence against their designs; and Colonel Coote presently found himself at the head of 2100 Europeans; including artillery, cavalry and officers, about 4000 Sepoys; and 1500 country horses, which was the most they could raise on that occasion. With this force the colonel encamped in a strong situation between Cauvery Pauk and Arcot, about three miles from the advanced guards of the enemy; in order to watch their motions, and to cover the districts from the Marattas, who, in small parties, made it their practice to plunder the inhabitants, destroy the produce of the country, and drive off the cattle.

Both armies thus situate, M. Lally marched with his whole army towards Wandewash; but on the second day detached a party to Conjeveram, which plundered the town. The garrison, consisting
only

only of two companies of Sepoys, retired into the fort; and defended themselves, till relieved by the timely advance of Colonel Coote. At whose approach all the French parties retired and joined their main body, now encamped at Papatangel, between Conjeveram and Wandewash; before which latter place the enemy sat down on the 15th, and attacked the Pettah adjoining to the fort, on the 16th in the morning. The Pettah was bravely defended by only three companies of Sepoys, commanded by an ensign of the Sepoy establishment, who, after a stout resistance, were obliged to abandon the Pettah, where the French erected a battery of one 24 pounder and three 18 pounders: which began to fire on the 20th. This town being of too great importance to permit it to fall into the hands of the enemy, without opposition; which could not be expected to be made effectually by the garrison, consisting only of 150 Europeans and eight companies of Sepoys, under the command of Captain Sherlock; it was determined to march the English army to its relief; but with this caution, not to risk a battle upon a great disadvantage, and to preserve a communication for supplies and provisions, and a retreat to Madras, in case of a defeat.

Colonel Coote took post at Outremaloor on the 17th, and receiving advice on the 21st, that the enemy had made a practicable breach in the fort, he resolved to make an effort to raise the siege next morning. The night was spent in making proper dispositions for so important a service; and the

A. D.
1760.

French at-
tack Wan-
dewash.

English re-
solved to
relieve it,

Colonel
Coote
raises the
siege,

A. D.
1760.

the whole army¹ was in motion at six o'clock on the 22d. About seven our advanced horse, and the enemy's, began to fire on each other. The cavalry immediately formed in battle array, and were supported by five companies of Sepoys and two pieces of cannon. Then Colonel Coote advanced with two companies of Seapoys. These obliged the enemy to retreat to their main body of horse, which consisted of 200 Europeans and 3000 Marattas on the left. As the English cavalry advanced, the enemy retreated in pretty good order: but as soon as their cannon began to play, which was well served, the enemy fell into confusion, and ran with great precipitation.

Battle with
the French
main army.

Upon this event Colonel Coote sent orders to the army, that remained at the distance of about three quarters of a mile in the rear, to form the line of battle, but not to advance till he had joined them. With these he arrived about nine o'clock, at the place he had driven the enemy from: and after reconnoitring their numbers, disposition and situation, and finding the enemy strongly posted, and that his flanks would be exposed to the enemy's much superior cavalry, the colonel ordered his army to march by the right, to gain the advantage of a hill, about three miles distant, and about two miles from Wandewash Fort: and he ordered the horse from his front to wheel to the right and left, and to form behind the second

¹ It amounted in all to 1700 Europeans, including artillery and cavalry, and 3500 black troops: and all their artillery were fourteen pieces of cannon and one howitz.

line,

line, in order to make the rear-guard. Which obliged the enemy to alter their disposition. A cannonade was kept up on both sides, during these motions; and the Maratta horse were so severely handled by our advanced posts, that they withdrew at present from the French, in whose service they saw no expectations of any thing better than hard blows and destruction.

The enemy having got under the cover of a bank, the cannon on both sides began to play briskly; and the two armies advanced with much gallantry. The charge begun, and the colonel perceiving, that the enemy's European cavalry were resolved to try to force his left, and so to come round upon the rear, ordered two pieces of cannon, and some companies of Sepoys, to sustain his cavalry. By this means, when the enemy's horse advanced resolutely, the English cavalry opened to the right and left; the grape-shot poured upon the French from the two pieces of cannon; the musquetry galled their flank, and our cavalry wheeled and charged them in front, with such impetuosity, that they could not stand it. They were thrown into confusion, and pushed back upon the rear of their own people, at more than a mile from our left: and were pursued by our whole army.

A. D.
1760.

The
French
retreat.

The French army^{*} was drawn up here in the following order: the regiment of Lorraine on the

^{*} It consisted of 2200 Europeans, including artillery and cavalry, 300 Caffrees, and between 9 and 10,000 black troops. They had twenty-five pieces of cannon in their train.

right,

A. D.
1760.

Defeated.

Loss on
both sides.

right, in line of battle: the regiment of Lally on the left, with the marine formed into a column, and the brigade of de L'Inde, formed into a column in the center, with two ranks covering their right and left, and some broken ground in front. Both armies advanced, and the battle became general about one o'clock: when a shot from our guns striking one of the enemy's tumbrils, it blew up, and disabled five of their guns. An accident, which was immediately improved by Major Brereton, who wheeled Colonel Draper's regiment to the left, and charged the enemy's left flank with such order and resolution, as did honour to the commander, and paved the way to victory; which declared in our favour about two o'clock, when the enemy's whole army gave way. They thought to have found a safe retreat in their camp: but finding that they were pursued, they fled with the utmost precipitation, and left the English masters of the field, and left all their artillery¹ except three small field pieces.

The French, in this engagement, had eight hundred killed and wounded, and two hundred and forty were made prisoners. Two hundred were buried in the field of battle: and two hundred of the prisoners were wounded. The English had no more than fifty-two Europeans, officers included, killed in the field: but there were one hundred and forty-one wounded; of whom some

¹ Three 20 pounders, one 24 pounder, and one 32 pounder, and fifteen smaller pieces.

died

died of their wounds, in which number was the gallant and brave Major Brereton, who had the honour to have so great a share in the success of that glorious day.

A. D.
1760.

The principal prisoners taken from the French was Brigadier-General de Buffy, the Chevalier Godeville, quarter-master-general; Lieutenant-Colonel Murphy; le Chevalier de Poete, Knight of Malta, who died of his wounds; two captains, four lieutenants, and two ensigns.

M. Lally rallied his forces, and halted at Chatteput, about eighteen miles from the field of battle, and next day marched to Gingee, to wait the coming in of his scattered forces. But upon the appearance of the parties detached by Colonel Coote, to harass him, the French general retired with his broken troops to Pondicherry, and was pursued thither up to the very walls by our cavalry, who had orders to destroy the French territory in that neighbourhood, by way of retaliation for M. Lally's behaviour towards the environs of Madras. And the colonel being informed that the Marattas began again to appear in those parts, between Arcot and Chatteput, and apprehending, that his operations might be interrupted by them, he wrote to Innis Cawn, their commander, to advertise him, "That since he had shewn by his behaviour in the late action, as well as by the whole tenor of his conduct, that he came not into the country as a soldier,

Enemy
pursued to
the walls.
of Pondi-
cherry.

Colonel
Coote
frightens
away the
Marattas.

^m On the 26th of January 1760.

A. D.
1760.

Country
about Pon-
dicherry
laid waste.

Good ef-
fects of
this victo-
ry.

Chatteput
surrenders.

Prisoners
brought in.

Timmery
surrenders.

Arcot in-
vested.

but only as a plunderer and marauder, he must now immediately quit the country, or he must be compelled to it; and, if intercepted, that he must expect no quarter for himself or his troops.

The Maratta general immediately withdrew his forces, and marched to his own country: and the English cavalry laid waste the environs of Pondicherry; not only by way of retaliation, but as a necessary measure towards the success of the intended siege of that strong fortification. For it struck a terror into the inhabitants, promoted a disposition in them to desert, alarmed the black people with the dread of a siege, and caused them to move off; which would deprive the garrison of the necessary assistance of the Cooleysⁿ.

The good effects of this victory spread themselves in every quarter. Chatteput, garrisoned by four officers, 12 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, and mounting nine guns, surrendered at discretion, after a short defence; where the colonel found a large quantity of ammunition. A party of French and Sepoys, with two brass eight pounders, were picked up by Captain Smith, who brought them, a captain of the Lorraine regiment, and three French commissaries, to the head-quarters on the 30th. And twenty Europeans surrendered to Major Monson, in the fort of Timmery. But the grand affair was the design upon Arcot.

Colonel Coote, victorious at Wandewash, had sent orders to Captain Wood to invest Arcot; who

ⁿ Captain De Vassarat, who was charged with the execution of this destruction, drove off 4000 head of cattle.

soon got possession of the Pettah, routed Zula-
 pherzing's forces, and took his whole camp, be-
 fore the colonel could reach him, which was on
 the 2d of February; when he arrived and en-
 camped, with his whole army, within two miles
 of the place. Our forces thus joined, they the
 same day began to erect batteries against the fort,
 and though the enemy threw a number of shells,
 they did no damage, and the batteries were opened
 on the 5th: and on the 8th, the approaches be-
 ing carried on to the S. W. within 260 yards of
 the crest of the glacis, and within 250 to the W.
 the colonel summoned the garrison to surrender:
 Captain Husley, who commanded the fort, desired
 six days; and promised, if not relieved within
 that time, to deliver up the garrison, on being
 allowed the honours of war. Which not being sa-
 tisfactory, hostilities were continued; and though
 the enemy's shells and fire-balls did some damage
 amongst the men at the batteries and in the
 trenches, the approaches were carried within sixty
 yards of the crest of the glacis, which obliged the
 garrison, next day °, to surrender prisoners of
 war; which consisted of three captains, eight sub-
 alterns, 236 private, and between two and 300
 Sepoys; with four mortars, twenty-two pieces of
 cannon, and a great quantity of all kinds of mili-
 tary stores. We lost, during the siege, seven non-
 commissioned officers and private men killed, and
 the engineer Ensign Mac Mahon and sixteen more
 wounded.

A. D.
 1760

Siege in
 form bea
 gun.

Surten-
 ders.

° The 10th of February 1760.

VOL. V.

C

This

A. D.
1760.

Its great
loss to the
French.

M. Lally
calls in all
his posts.

This conquest enabled the English to restore the capital of his dominions to the Nabob, of which he had been deprived by the French; and it greatly weakened both the French force and interest in India. In which critical juncture M. Lally recalled his troops from Seringham. This measure augmented his army with five hundred Europeans, horse and foot: but left all the valuable districts in the power of the Nabob's renters and collectors, to execute their master's orders without molestation.

Admiral
Cornish ar-
rives at
Madrafs.

Supports
the opera-
tions by
land.

Join to be-
siege Ca-
rical.

In the midst of these successes Admiral Cornish arrived with six ships at Madrafs, one of which^p meeting with the Haerlem, in her way from Merguy, obliged her to run a-shore about two leagues northward of Pondicherry. As there was no French fleet upon that coast, the admiral readily engaged to co-operate with the land forces, as soon as it was practicable for his majesty's ships.

The siege of Carical was the immediate object of their resolutions. For which purpose Colonel Coote, having received the submission of the garrison of Permucoil and Alamparva, proceeded with his army to attack Waldour, and to block up Pondicherry by land: while Major Monson, the chief engineer, seven gunners and fifty pioneers, embarked on board the fleet to besiege Carical, with the assistance of the marines, and of forty of the artillery, 100 Europeans, and 2000 Sepoys, which were ordered to join them from Trichanopoly.

^p The Falmouth.

The

The fort of Carical is a small square, with ravelins before each curtain, a false bray half round, a good ditch with some water, a covered way palisadoed, and a good glacis, with bomb-proof places in several parts of the works for 500 men. In which was a garrison of 206 Europeans, including officers, and 200 Sepoys. The fleet arrived before this place on the 28th of March, and Major Monson, that same evening, landed with the pioneers and 300 marines, about four miles northward of the town; and marched directly to Carical, and got possession thereof with very little loss, the garrison having retired into the fort. The major being annoyed in his rear, by a redoubt called Fort Dauphin, he supplied it so well with shells, that the enemy abandoned it also, and left them a free communication with the country, and a way to find provisions; and, by the time he had completed a battery of four 18 pounders, the troops from Trichanopoly arrived in his camp. This enabled him to invest the place on all sides, on the 3d of April. On the fifth several more batteries were played, one bastion was breached, and several guns were dismounted: and the major receiving intelligence, that 150 European horse, detached by M. Lally, were arrived within twenty miles of this place, and that 400 European foot were advanced as far as Chillambrum, to the relief of the besieged, he boldly summoned the commandant, with a resolution to attack by storm, in case he would not surrender. But, after a

A. D.
1760.This fort
described:Carical:
invested:

A. D.
1760.

Surrenders.

Chillambrum surrenders.

Verdachilum surrenders.

Admiral Stevens joins Admiral Cornish.

Plan against Pondicherry pursued by Colonel Coote.

little difficulty, the Frenchman gave up the place, and the garrison became prisoners of war.

The major marched next to Chillambrum, and summoned the garrison: who, by their answer, seemed determined to stand the attack. But in the night some pioneers, employed in carrying fascines to a battery, mistaking their way, and marching right against the fort, so terrified the Frenchmen, under apprehensions of a scalado, and of being put all to the sword, cried out that they surrendered at discretion^a. The garrison of Verdachilum^r submitted to the same fate. After which Major Monson having, in the space of a single month, deprived the French of many valuable possessions, joined Colonel Coote in the beginning of May: the marines reembarked, and Mr. Cornish was soon after joined by Admiral Stevens, in the road of Fort St. David, with five ships from Bombay.

Colonel Coote did not remain inactive. His attention was fixed upon the conquest of Pondicherry: and all his operations were conducted towards that desirable event. He subdued Waldour and Villemoure, and encamped in the front of that village, with his left on the descent of the Red-hill, about four miles from the town of Pondicherry, and not above a mile and a half from Oullagary, where the enemy still kept post. He

^a Six officers, forty Europeans, and between two and three hundred Sepoys and Topasses.

^r Twenty-five Europeans and 200 Sepoys.

also

also threw up redoubts in the several avenues, as did the enemy: the advanced parties being frequently within musket-shot of each other. During this time the French made three attempts upon Cuddalore: in the first they carried off seventy-six marines and sailors; but were repulsed with loss in the other two.

A. D.
1760.

M. Lally despairing of his arms, and the government of Pondicherry in pain for their property, the Frenchmen had recourse to their old maxim, to do that by intrigue, which they cannot do by force. Nothing promised to deliver them from the impending danger, but to stir up some powerful turbulent neighbour, whom they might prevail upon, by fair promises, to march an army against our allies; that might oblige the English to suspend their operations against the French capital in the East Indies.

The intrigues of the French.

They practised upon Hydranaig, the young King of Maissore's prime minister, who kept his royal master in the manner of a state prisoner; and, having the command of the army, usurped all authority. The French tickled his ambition, by engaging to put him in possession of all the conquests, they should make in the countries round Jagada, to hold them in his own right. Hydranaig agreed to assist the French upon that condition, and began with a supply of cattle and provisions, which his troops conveyed into Pondicherry. In which service the Maissoreans commenced hostilities against the English, by attacking a guard of twelve Europeans and 200 black horse and

Engage the Maissoreans, by means of a bad minister.

Maissoreans and the French.

Supply provisions.

A. D.
1760.

Are inter-
cepted in
their re-
turn.

Measures
to prevent
the bad
effects of
this alli-
ance.

War car-
ried into
the Maif-
fore coun-
try.

some Sepoys. The black horse fled; but the European horse and Sepoys, though quite surrounded, cut their way through the enemy, and reached their main army with very little loss. But the Maifforeans paid very dear for this trifling advantage. For, Colonel Coote detached a sufficient force to intercept them, in their return; which defeated them, killed forty men, and took two hundred horses, and all their field equipage.

But this check not being sufficient to prevent the fatal effects of a Maifforean alliance with the French; it was resolved to carry the war into the Maiffore country; that by feeling the miseries, to which their country would be exposed, in the course of the war, the Maifforeans might be induced to cancel the treaty made in their King's name, by his prime-minister Hydranaig; to call home their forces from Pondicherry, and call him to an account for entering into a war so greatly prejudicial to the interest of their nation. This resolution had its desired effect. Captain Richard Smith was ordered, by the council at Madrafs, to take with him seven or eight companies of Sepoys, and as many of the country forces as could be collected on a sudden, and to march from Trichanopoly into the Maiffore country, and with all kinds of acts of hostility to force them to withdraw their troops from the French army. This detachment arriving on the frontiers of the Maiffore country, took two redoubts, or small forts, without opposition, and proceeded to attack Carriour, a strong barrier and key

key to that country, garrisoned by two thousand men. But with the help of his cannon he passed the river, notwithstanding their endeavours to prevent him, and obliged them to surrender, after ten days siege, upon honourable and advantageous terms; by which he acquired a country, which produced five lack of rupees per annum, and secured such an opening into the Maissore country, as greatly contributed to the recalling of their troops from the assistance of the French, with very little loss and expence on our side; which was finally accomplished soon after, by a mere incident, in favour of our plan.

A. D.
1760.

An incident favourable to the English.

The Marattas were in motion to collect their annual tribute; and had already settled the chout for the country of Maissore, and were advancing to demand it of the Nabob of Arcot. The presidency of Madras, moved entirely by the motive of a scarcity of money in that province just at that time, and of the bad consequences of its being over-run by those plunderers, had the address and good fortune to stop them at the pass in the mountains, till they should send a proper person to settle the payment. Though their stay was but very short, it suggested a favourable opportunity to the discontented Moissoreans, to deliver their king and country from the tyranny of Hydranaig: for in the interval, the king and his most faithful friends, prevailed with the Maratta army to cut him off, on the suggestion, that Hydranaig was the sole cause that their tribute had not been paid. When the minister discovered his danger,

The Maissoreans dissatisfied with their minister.

Hire the Maratas to deliver them from his administration.

A. D.
1760.
The prime
minister
obliged to
fly.

and that the Marattas were actually in motion against him, he fled to a fort, which he had depended upon for his security, in case of any sudden attempt upon his life: but the governor, though a creature of his own, and one that never scrupled to execute the worst of his commands, during his prosperity and authority, did now turn his guns against him, when he stood in the greatest need of his friendship and gratitude.

His treaty
annulled.

Peace re-
stored with
the Eng-
lish.

The oper-
ations
against
Pondicher-
ry contin-
ued.

Obliged to keep the field with the few forces he could collect, Hydranaig was not able to defend himself without recalling the troops he had sent to the assistance of the French: on the other side, the king, delivered out of the restraint laid upon him by Hydranaig, satisfied the Marattas for their aid so far in this revolution, engaged them to assist him in completing it, and disavowing the ministerial treaty with the French, proposed terms of friendship with the presidency of Madras; Which put an end to the hostilities at Carriour, and deprived the French of a powerful ally.

M. Lally having detached a reinforcement of 200 men to Gingee, Colonel Coote ordered Major Preston * to take post at Ratelagranom, in order to cut off their communication with Pondicherry: which service the Major effectually performed by carrying two strong posts on the hills. But these large detachments so weakened the main army, that it was obliged to remain inactive, till the latter end of August, when Governor Pigot and

* With 1500 Sepoys, 1500 black horse, and a considerable body of Europeans.

Colonel

Colonel Coote solicited the Admiral to land his marines, in order to assist in taking Ariancopang. They were landed agreeable to their request, on the 29th of August, at Cuddalore, and arrived, next day, at the camp: and Colonel Coote immediately made a disposition to attack Ariancopang, by a detachment of 800 men, under Major Monson; while he with the main body marched against Oullagary, where the French had a strong post, as observed before. But M. Lally getting intelligence of this design, resolved, by an unexpected bold stroke, not only to defeat it, but to gain some considerable advantage over the remainder of the army. This was to attack our four advanced redoubts, manned only with Sepoys and a few gunners, at one time; which was done at about four in the morning of the 3d of September, at the signal of two rockets. However they did not succeed according to his wishes. The French surprized only one redoubt, which they set on fire, and made three gunners prisoners. They were repulsed with loss at the other three. Neither did he gain any advantage by an attempt next night, made on the redoubt near the Tamarind Tope, strongly guarded by Europeans, to shut up the town on that side. For, though the attack was made by men, that seemed determined to conquer or die, they were repulsed with loss; in which was the officer that led, who was killed on a limber which closed the barrier.

Such was the situation and glory of our arms on the coast of Coromandel, when the company's ships

A. D.
1760.

Lally's at-
tempts de-
feated.

A. D.
1760.

A rein-
forcement
of High-
landers.

Colonel
Coote su-
perseded
by Colonel
Monson.

Retires to
Madrafs.

Oullagary
attacked.

Colonel
Monson's
men mis-
take the
road.

ships arrived at Madrafs, which brought a batta-
lion of Highlanders to augment the army; and a
commission of Colonel for Major Monson. This
commission superseded Colonel Coote, as it gave
him rank before him; but it did not take away
the command of the army, so long as he remained
on that coast. However, Colonel Coote imme-
diately retired to Madrafs, and gave Colonel
Monson full power to make what motions he
should see proper, with the army. And Colonel
Monson, being joined by the battalion of High-
landers, gave out orders, on the 9th at midnight,
for the whole army to attack the French posts of
Oullagary church, and the redoubts in the Bound
Hedge. Major Smith marched, with the com-
pany's troops, directly to Oullagary, where the
main body of the enemy were posted, attacked
them so vigorously before day-light, that he soon
drove them from their ground, took nine field
pieces, pursued them to a redoubt, where they
made some stand, and forced them from thence
to seek protection under the walls of Pondicherry.
Colonel Monson had provided for intercepting
them. His plan was to march himself with two
regiments only, to surprize the Waldour and
Tamarind redoubts, and by forcing his way with-
in the Bound Hedge, to cut off the retreat of the
main body of the French, which Major Smith
was to drive into his hands. But the darkness of
the night occasioning a mistake of the way by
part of Colonel Monson's detachment, it caused
a delay, and put the Colonel in such a fret, that,
anxious

anxious for the success of his plan, he put himself A. D.
 at the head of the grenadiers, and led them on 1760.
 with such vigour, that the enemy soon gave way, His anxie-
 abandoned three redoubts, and left behind them ty.
 15 pieces of cannon. But the colonel in this in- Is wound-
 stant receiving a shot, that broke both bones of ed and dis-
 his leg, which disabled him from proceeding; the abled.
 most material advantage proposed by this success,
 was unfortunately lost. For, being without a
 leader, the troops contented themselves with se-
 curing the advantage they had gained, and took
 post in the Bound Hedge.

Next day the whole army encamped at Oulla-
 gary, and strong detachments were sent out to
 protect the workmen employed in fortifying the
 redoubts they had taken, and to invest Arianco-
 pang: but the corps at this post had orders to
 withdraw upon the first appearance of our army,
 after blowing up one side of the fort.

Colonel Monson's misfortune, and the interest Colonel
 of his country, prevailed with Colonel Coote to Coote re-
 resume the command of the army, and he arrived sumes the
 at the camp on the 20th of September: and this command.
 brave officer, who had raised the glory of the Bri-
 tish arms in India, and in defiance of the great
 superiority of the French forces, gained the de-
 cisive battle of Wandewash, by which the com-
 pany's districts, and their allies were secured, and
 the total ruin of their most formidable rival was
 planned and almost effected, without any extraor-
 dinary reinforcement, was now providentially re-
 called

A. D. 1760. called to reap those laurels he had sown in the conquest of Pondicherry.

Streightens
Pondicherry.

The Colonel being informed that the enemy were destroying the Blancherie, and strengthening the ground to the northward, he took three companies of Sepoys from the nearest post, and attacked them in three different places: after a smart firing that lasted an hour and upwards, he got possession of a small redoubt, which the French were fortifying, and immediately ordered the pioneers to close the gorge, and endeavour to make it tenable: which order was so well executed, that it sustained the same night, at twelve, an attack by 300 Europeans, and seven companies of Sepoys, who got possession, but were soon driven out again.

The rainy seasons and Monsoons approaching, Colonel Coote was obliged to provide against the natural accidents, that happen in those regions from the inclemency of the weather, and removed his army to encamp on a hill, about a mile and a half to the left,

Assisted by
the fleet.

Admiral Stephens, who was now lying off Pondicherry, sent in the boats of the fleet, next day, to cut out the Baliere and Harmione, that were in the harbour. The boats, at one in the morning, proceeded in two divisions; one, commanded by Captain Newson, attacked the Baliere: the other, commanded by Lieutenant Ourry, attacked the Harmione: and though they met with a stout resistance from the ships, and were exposed to a smart fire from the shore, and a floating battery, they

they carried them both away. This service being effected, the Admiral, on the 23d, sailed with his fleet for Trincomaly, leaving only five ships * of the line to block up the harbour of Pondicherry, greatly distressed for provisions. A. D. 1760.

During the rainy season and the absence of the fleet, Colonel Coote contented himself with such further operations as would be most effectual to cut off all communication between the garrison and the country: so that nothing material was executed, but on the part of Major Preston, who kept Gingee blocked up, intercepted the convoys sent from thence for the relief of Pondicherry, and dispossessed the enemy of such small forts and posts, as were established by them to facilitate the means of stealing supplies into the town.

In which situation we will take our leave of the siege of Pondicherry, and the campaign on the coast of Coromandel; whose happy effects were reserved for another year.

In this sun-shine of prosperity and success of our arms in every quarter of the globe, affairs at home carried but a very gloomy aspect. Yet, if we confine the view to the conduct of the gentleman at the head of the administration, nothing could give more pleasure, nor more hopes of bringing this war to a happy conclusion. A frenchified faction " gained strength every day, and appeared more daring in their opposition to the measures continued for humbling the ambition of

* Under the command of Captain Haldane.

" See page 315, Vol. IV.

A. D.
1760.

perfidious France; while the most delusive intrigues were contrived to cover the real intentions of France and Spain *.

The minister was unanimously supported by parliament, without those practices upon their conscience and integrity, used by such ministers that had founded their administration in corruption, and sacrificed the public interest to their private views. The minister still retained the affections and confidence of the people; who, notwithstanding they were greatly disappointed in their expectations of more vigorous measures, in consequence of the immense sums granted for the service of the year 1760; their confidence in the abilities and rectitude of his counsel and actions, could not be induced to cast the blame of inactivity and disappointment upon Mr. PITT. They lamented the secret engines, that prevented his doing more; and gratefully gave him the due praise and merit of what he had been able to carry into execution.

You have already been informed of the generosity and expedition of parliament, in their votes for supplies *. They likewise concurred in every national measure proposed by the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT, Esq; for which his Majesty, at the time of their prorogation (on the 22d of May) not being able to go to the house, commanded the Lords Commissioners to declare in

* See page 307. Vol. IV.

* See page 318. Vol. IV.

his name to both houses, That it would have given him the most sensible pleasure to have been able to communicate to them, that his sincere endeavours to promote a general pacification had met with more suitable returns before this time. That his Majesty, in conjunction with his good brother and ally the king of Prussia, chose to give their enemies proofs of this equitable disposition, in the midst of a series of glorious victories; an opportunity the most proper to do it with dignity, and to manifest to all Europe the purity and moderation of his views. That, after such a conduct, his Majesty had the comfort to reflect, that the further continuance of the calamities of the war could not be imputed to him, or his allies; and trusted in the blessing of heaven upon the justice of his cause, and upon those ample means, which their zeal, in so good a cause, had wisely put into his hands, that his future successes, in carrying on the war, would not fall short of the past; and that, in the event, the public tranquillity would be restored on solid and durable foundations.

Though the minister could not complete the grand design of the naval and military expedition, already-mentioned, he provided, in the best manner, for executing that part of the plan, with success, which had been set over by the inclemency of the season, from the last year, for the total reduction of Canada, and the entire extirpation of the French from off the continent of North America: and for preserving and improving the advantages already gained over the enemy.

A. D.
1766.

Measures
pursued,

For em-
ploying
the enemy.

my

A. D.
1760.

my in all other places; as appears both from the strength and disposition of our fleets and armies. The dubious friendship of Spain required six regiments of foot to defend the important fortress of Gibraltar from surprize. One and twenty regiments were allotted to compleat the ruin of France in North America, under the command of Major-General Amherst. Five regiments and a half were appointed to maintain our conquest of Guadaloupe, and to cover our own sugar islands from any attempts and insults from the enemy. Four companies of Talbot's and second battalion of Forbes's, were the garrison at Senegal and Goree. Four battalions of foot in the East Indies. In Germany three regiments of horse, nine regiments of dragoons, sixteen regiments of foot, which militated with sixty thousand German auxiliaries, under Prince Ferdinand; besides two regiments of highlanders, in garrison at Embden. All this without distressing or exposing the British islands to invasion or intestine commotions: for, besides the embodied militia, which now were capable, and did the duty of regular troops within any part of England, Great Britain could muster, at home, two troops of horse guards, two troops of horse grenadier guards, five regiments of dragoons, three regiments of foot guards, and three and twenty foot regiments: and Ireland was defended by two regiments of horse, eight regiments of dragoons, and seventeen regiments of foot. Neither did the small island of Jersey escape the vigilant minister's notice and care. He sent Boscawen's regiment

giment to defend it from the threats of a pretended assault from the French coast.

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1760.

The disposition of his Majesty's navy, or fleet, The navy. confirms our good opinion of his wisdom and diligence. Seventeen ships of the line were stationed in the Indian ocean, to favour our operations by land, and to destroy the enemy's strength and trade by sea. Admiral Holmes had twenty ships of the line under his command, to protect our West Indies, and to annoy the enemy in those seas. Admiral Saunders shut up Toulon, and over-awed the potentates of the Levant, with ten sail of the line: and Lord Colville was enabled, with twelve ships of the line, to protect the Newfoundland fishery, and the North American coast, to scour those seas of the enemy's ships, should they attempt to disturb the coast, and to favour the operations against Montreal and Canada. Yet there were left at home, for the defence of our own coast, and to insult the coasts of our enemies, near home, as circumstances might require, three men of war of 100 guns, six of 90 guns, four of 80 guns, thirteen of 74 guns, five of 70, nine of 64, twelve of 60, and ten of 50 guns; which were not locked up in our ports, to eat the national bread in idleness; but so stationed, and appointed, that the enemy durst not appear at sea; and they that had inclination to join in their assistance, had not courage to declare their real intentions. Such part of this grand fleet, as was kept at home, and not in the list for the intended expedition, insulted the French coast in the channel,

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1760.

Admiral
Rodney's
watchful-
ness.

Flat-bot-
tomed
boats de-
stroyed,
&c.

nel, under the command of Admiral Rodney, who blockaded their ports so narrowly, that nothing could escape his vigilance nor resist his strength. A trial was made with five flat-bottomed boats from Harfleur, loaded with cannon and shot, at noon-day, in the month of July, and in defiance of the English squadron; to form a judgment of the dependance, that the enemy might put in those new-invented vessels, and whether they would be able to clear themselves from an English squadron of men of war, in case they should be discovered and chased, in an attempt to land forces in England or Ireland. But the Admiral giving orders to his small vessels to cut off their retreat from the river Orme, while the large ships stood to the steep coast of Port Bassin, the flat-bottomed boats having no way to escape, ran a-shore at Port Bassin, and in their destruction convinced the French ministry, that they could never propose to make any figure in naval history by such a chimerical project of defeating the vigilance and strength of the navy of England, with a fleet of flat-bottomed boats. Consequently they ordered all the others, in number one hundred, then lying at Caen, to be unloaded, and sent to Rouen, to be laid up, as useless. Which service, performed by Admiral Rodney, and the destruction he made of near forty vessels of considerable burden, carrying on a considerable fishery near Dieppe, did great honour to the commander, and increased the reputation of those charged with the direction of the national affairs.

As

As the revival of any attempt, though ever so feeble, to disturb our navigation, to alarm our coasts, and to interrupt our ulterior operations against Canada, would have been attended with disagreeable effects; besides the vast sums, that would have been entirely lost, by any means to protract the North American war to another campaign; nothing could be judged more advantageously for the interest of our country, under such circumstances, than stationing a sufficient Squadron so, as to block up the ports, from which the remains of their naval power could possibly sail, upon any desperate enterprize. This was the alternate employment of the Admiral's Hawke and Boscawen; who relieved each other, and with a powerful Squadron, not only prevented any naval armaments sailing from Brest, Rochefort, &c. but kept the whole coast in such an alarm, as to oblige them to employ a number of forces, which might have done the allies much damage in Germany.

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1760.

Fleet in
the bay.

The enemy kept close quarters: they were glad to hide themselves in any creek or rivulet, rather than venture in the way of our fleet. But Mr. Boscawen, impatient for want of an opportunity to drub the French ships, took possession of a small island near the river Vannes, and caused it to be cultivated and planted with vegetables, as the best expedient for the relief and cure of his men, who, by the sea air, want of exercise, and living entirely upon salt provision, should be infected with the scurvy. And in the month of Sep-

Two
Islands
taken.

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1760.

tember Sir Edward Hawke, sensible of the difficulties, to which so large a fleet is exposed, at some seasons, in that station, for want of fresh water; and informed, that those difficulties might be removed by getting possession of the Island of Dumet, which abounded with that necessary of life; Lord Howe was ordered, by Sir Edward, to perform that service, with the *Magnanime*, *Prince Frederick*, and *Bedford*. This island, about three miles long and one broad, was defended by a small fort, that mounted nine cannon, and was garrisoned by one company of the regiment of *Bourbon*, who surrendered with little or no resistance.

Louis-
bourg for-
tifications
demolish-
ed.

The bad effects of the restoration of *Louisbourg*, by the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, which were seen in all the proceedings of the French in North America, and which might convince us, that they would never keep the faith of treaties, in regard to the fisheries and limits of territory in that quarter of the globe, so long as they should remain possessed of that fortress; and further, that the French in any future negotiation for a peace, might tenaciously insist upon its restoration, in the state and condition it was in at its conquest, did most prudently advise, and the minister had the good fortune to be suffered to send Captain *Byron*, with ships and able engineers, to demolish the fortifications of *Louisbourg*; who reduced them to a heap of rubbish,

γ Besides it was never to be had without a very considerable expence to the nation, by hiring transports to carry water for the use of the squadron.

filled up the ditches, levelled the glacis, and conveyed all the artillery, ammunition and implements of war to Hallifax; nothing being left standing but the private houses, the hospital for the sick, and barracks capable of lodging 300 men, in case of necessity.

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1760.

Such was the spirit of gallantry, dispersed in our fleets and armies, that every officer emulated the bravest actions; they were only afraid of not meeting with an opportunity to merit the applause of their country; and the spirit of the officers was equally supported by an uncommon exertion of courage in the men.

Bravery of
the British
troops and
sailors.

The detachments from the squadrons in the West Indies, stand the first upon this record of fame. The Hampshire, Lively and Boreas fell in with eight sail of Frenchmen, from Cape Francois, on the island of Hispaniola, for Europe, on the 17th of October, 1759; but the wind being slack, the Boreas could not come up with their commodore till near midnight. The French commodore ship was the Sirenne, commanded by Captain Mac Cartie, an Irish officer of good reputation; but he thought it most prudent to run, after a hot engagement of about twenty-five minutes. The Boreas was so damaged in her rigging, that she was obliged to lie by and repair, for some time. Which being done with the utmost expedition, she sailed in quest of the Sirenne, and came up with her next day, about two o'clock in the afternoon, off the east end of Cuba, and forced Mac Cartie to strike, after a stout

Off Hispaniola.

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1760.

action of two hours and forty minutes. Here were four more frigates, which steered with all the sail they could croud, for the west end of Tortuga, to shelter themselves in Port au Prince, as soon as they descried the Hampshire and Lively. But on the 18th, the Lively, with the help of oars, coming up with the Valeur, at half past seven, obliged her to submit, after a warm engagement of an hour and an half. The Hampshire stood singly after the other three French frigates; and ran between the Duke de Choiseuil and the Prince Edward, and engaged them both at one time with such vigour and resolution, that the Duke de Choiseuil, getting the advantage of the wind, ran into Port au Paix: and the other ran ashore about two leagues to leeward, and struck her colours; but set her on fire, and she blew up before the Hampshire could come up to take possession. Which also was the fate of the Fleur de Lis, that had run into Fresh Water Bay, a little to leeward of Port au Prince².

Off Cuba.

Immediately after this capture of five large French frigates, advice being received by Admiral Holmes, that the enemy's privateers swarmed about the island of Cuba, the boats of the Trent and Boreas were manned, and proceeded to Cumberland harbour in that island, under the direction of Lieutenants Millar and Stuart; where they met with the Vainqueur, of 10 guns, 16 swivels, and

² The captains of the Hampshire, Lively, and Boreas, were Norbury, Uvedale, and Maitland.

90 men, the Mackau, of six swivels, and 15 men, the Guespe, of eight guns, and 85 men; whose fates were soon determined. For, the boats first boarded under a close fire, and got possession of the Vainqueur; then they proceeded to the Mackau, which made no resistance: and afterwards to the Guespe; but before they could reach her, the enemy set her on fire, and she was destroyed.

The Captains Obrien and Taylor, of the ships Temple and Griffin, cruising off the ^{Off the} Granadas, distinguished themselves in the same gallant manner. These two alone, informed that the Virgin, once a British sloop of war, had taken refuge, with three privateers, under the guns of three forts on one of these islands, sailed in quest of them, and, having first demolished the forts, they took the four ships, after a warm engagement, that lasted several hours. Then they entered another harbour, where they had intelligence of three other ships; demolished another fort, and brought off those three prizes also. And in their return to Antigua, they fell in with 13 victuallers, bound from Martinico, which struck to them without resistance.

Certainly nothing could do greater honour to our naval power than such actions as these, which defied all resistance from ships and forts, and regarded neither numbers, weight of metal, or stone walls: But the action nearer home, upon the coast of Portugal, between two French frigates of 36 ^{Off the} guns, and the Flamborough and Biddiford, is a ^{rock of} more ^{Lisbon.}

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1760,

more shining example of what Englishmen will do when engaged with an obstinate and superior enemy. A more dreadful scene of blood and destruction had not been seen during the course of this war : nor a more convincing opportunity for the proof of British courage ; which the officers zealously embraced and improved to the utmost.

Captains
Kennedy
and Skinner,

The French frigates were stationed with a design to intercept a rich convoy, expected at Lisbon. On the same coast were also stationed his Majesty's ships the Flamborough, Captain Archibald Kennedy, and the Biddiford, Captain Skinner, two 20 gun ships, upon a cruise, and they gave such a good look out, that on the 4th of April, Captain Kennedy discovered four sail of ships, about 56 leagues distant S. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. from the rock of Lisbon, steering S. by W. right before the wind ; of which he immediately made signal to Captain Skinner, at that time about three miles a-leeward of the Flamborough. They both stood towards the enemy, but the Flamborough being the best going ship, and to leeward ; and the enemy not making any alteration in their course, Captain Kennedy soon came near, within gun-shot of the headmost, who brought to at five in the afternoon. The Flamborough, in this proximity of situation, fired several shot, and displayed her colours to provoke her to action. But when Captain Kennedy found, that the sternmost ship, about half an hour after, had also brought to, and could perceive very plainly, that they were speaking to

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each other; that they were large French frigates, that one of them made signals for the government of the other two ships in their company, which immediately made off with all the sail they could make; and that they hoisted French colours, and were bearing down upon the Flamborough, he judged it best for his Majesty's service and his own honour, to edge away towards the Biddisford, and had the good fortune to join her about six. 'Tho' every body was sensible of the great superiority of the two ships, that continued their course after the Flamborough, the two brave English captains murdered no time in consultation, but the only question between them, when near enough to hear each other, was, *shall we engage?* the word was, *now for honour.* Then the crews respectively saluted each other with three cheers, and their two ships stood in a line for the enemy. A resolution that staggered the enemy. For as soon as they saw the resolution of the Flamborough and Biddisford, they hauled their wind and stood to the eastward: which obliged the English to make the attack.

Their
brave reso-
lution.

The Flamborough soon came up with the sternmost ship, and received her broadside, which was well returned. But Captain Kennedy, to prevent the escape of the other frigate, left this to the management of the Biddisford, kept after the headmost, came up with her at half past six, and engaged as near as possible, without being on board each other, at about a quarter before seven, till nine at night, with great fury and regularity, on both sides. By which the masts, rigging and sails

Flambo-
rough en-
gaged.

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1760.

fails of the Flamborough suffered greatly, and most of the running rigging was cut to pieces; there was not remaining either a brace or bowline to govern the sails; and the hull was very much damaged with shot, some of which were betwixt wind and water. At nine both parties, unable to manage their ships, ceased firing for about half an hour; which gave the Flamborough an opportunity to reeve new braces, and to repair the most material damages; and then the battle was renewed; which continued till the enemy was obliged to sheer off, and use every effort to escape, about 11 at night. Captain Kennedy chased and pursued her till noon, next day; but being much disabled, and having neither course nor topsail fit for use, the Frenchman gained so much in flight, that Captain Kennedy thought it in vain to pursue any longer. The Flamborough had only five men killed and wounded: and, having lost the enemy, the Captain made the best of his way for Lisbon.

The Bid-
diford en-
gaged.

The action was more fatal to the brave Captain Lancelot Skinner, to whose management Captain Kennedy had left the sternmost, which was the commodore's ship. Captain Skinner ran close along side of this large frigate about seven o'clock, and attacked her with conduct and undaunted courage. But was unfortunately killed by a cannon ball, whilst standing upon the arm chest to inspect the several posts, and to animate his men by his own example, and applause of their behaviour. Thus ended Captain Skinner his days with as much honour, as an officer could do,

Captain
Skinner
killed.

do, closely engaged with a royal French frigate of 36 guns: and we can relate it upon the best authority, that he behaved during the share he had in the action, with remarkable coolness as well as bravery. No man ever behaved with more calmness, or more courage than the captain of the *Biddiford*. As he had gained the love of his officers and crew; so their mournful behaviour at his funeral, in the English burying ground at Lisbon, testified his worth, and how extremely they lamented the loss of a captain, who knew how to maintain his authority, without divesting himself of that humanity and affability, which are the ornaments of a compleat officer; and the most effectual preservatives of true English spirits in an engagement, which fear no danger, under the command of one, that treats them, at all times, like Englishmen^a. They would have spilt their own blood

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His character.

^a *Extract of a pamphlet, entitled Complaints of the Grievances in the Navy.*

In the present war we have had the most formidable navy of any nation in the world; yet this navy, raised at an immense expence, is rendered one third uselefs for want of men; and though many attempts have been made, and schemes formed to supply this want, they have all proved ineffectual; a circumstance that has afforded matter of surprize, not only to ourselves, but even to foreigners: that we, the greatest maritime power on earth, can't find men enough for our fleets, not even by the allurements of bounty, nor by compulsion. The reason however is known to every common seaman, who whilst our Gazettes are filled with enconiums of their bravery, and contempt of danger, and our senators are advising the wisest means for their provision and support, yet languish under

A. D. blood to save their captain : and, not able to
 1760. revenge his death, they followed him with tears
 to

der the greatest hardships, and most abject slavery, puzzled and perplexed with unnecessary trifles, hard wrought, and ill used by almost every petty officer of but a month's standing ; who, ignorant of duty, whether performed right or wrong, flourishes his rattan over the heads of the ablest seamen, and acts the tyrant over them without controul. There are, it is certain, several acts of parliament for regulating the conduct both of men and officers, the intention of which was pure and wholesome ; the legislator supposed a strict obedience would be paid thereto ; but alas ! how often, to our cost, do we find them in some cases wholly neglected, and in others misconstrued and misapplied. Religion, of which some shew at least ought to be kept up on board a christian ship of war, is almost, if not entirely, laid aside ; and we have no more knowledge of the sabbath, save that pork and peas are served on that day, or that some more laborious job than ordinary is projected, than so many savages.

Many proclamations have been issued, and acts of grace and pardons passed, to invite seamen to return to their duty, and quit the service of foreign states, but in vain. We find few who comply willingly ; the king of terrors, death, nor any other punishment, though ever so great, can bring men to submit to bad usage. This may be seen daily by the returns of the checque, where the desertion could not be so great, if men did not look in general on ships of war as so many prisons and floating houses of correction, to escape the severity of which they fly their native country, leaving sometimes two or three years pay behind, and sail for less money, and live fugitives abroad, far from all that is dear, or could make life agreeable to them. It may be objected to this, that any barbarity, encroachment, or oppression, may be redressed by a proper complaint. Avast there ! the remedy has often proved worse than the disease, and the person aggrieved put in the bilboes. Arbitrary power strikes us dumb ; complaints in
 general,

to the grave, to testify their sincere regard for him^b, who fell so gloriously in his country's cause. The Right Honourable Earl, who was then at the court of Portugal, the consul, and almost every member of the numerous and opulent factory at Lisbon, joined the ship's crew and officers, and attended the corpse of this brave young hero to the grave. And the British factory in that city, presented Captain Kenedy with a piece of plate, value 200l.

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By the death of Captain Skinner, the command of the Biddiford devolved upon Lieutenant Knollis, who having imbibed the true spirit of his captain deceased, maintained the action with great presence of mind and firmness, till a second shot in the body brought him down, about eight o'clock. This gallant officer was so mortally wounded, that he was carried below as dead; tho'

Lieutenant
Knollis
killed.

general, though ever so proper, may very easily be proved (by a bad heart, a pannelled jury, and corrupted evidence) mutiny: if the suspected criminal attempts to plead in his defence, gagging is his portion: death, or flogging from ship to ship with the highest rigour, becomes his fate. Here the judge and jury, are his prosecutors; they seldom meet on the merits of the crime, but to condemn: not so in civil trials; the criminal is tried by his peers, men of equal rank, and, when condemned, he cannot say justice erred, as the benefit of plea, cross examination, and witnesses, are granted him at land, and it were to be wished, some alteration was made in this article at sea.

^b Captain Skinner, was the son of Mr. Skinner, an eminent citizen of London, and many years, and at present, a common-councilman and deputy of Cheapward, in London.

he

A. D. 1760. he lingered out an insensible life a few hours longer^c.

Resolution
of the
Crew.

Under
great dif-
advan-
tages.

Having no expectation of assistance from the Flamborough, sufficiently employed with a superior force; deprived of their captain and chief lieutenant; and greatly disabled by the damage in their rigging, their main topmast shot away, and several men killed and wounded; none but men trained up for the service and honour of their country, under so worthy a commander, would have thought it their duty to dispute this warm contest for victory any longer; but would have been applauded for seeking the best means to escape, and to consult their own safety. But neither those disasters, nor the enemy's fire, which continued excessive hot, made them discover the least fear, or discontent with their service. Their spirits did not flag: nothing would satisfy their will, but a bloody revenge for their captain's death; and their guns were well served. However this was a trying affair: An enemy vastly superior in men, metal and size, on board a King's ship, almost without a chief commander. For though the master kept the quarter deck, took care of the posts about him, and Mr. Austin, the

^c It is very remarkable that five sons of the Earl of Banbury have been among the foremost in action for the service of their King and country—Lord Wallingford, the eldest son, having received a wound at Carrickfergus; the second wounded at the taking of Guadaloupe; the third, Lieutenant Knollis, killed in this engagement off Lisbon; and the fourth and fifth both very much wounded at Minden.

gunner,

gunner, was very active and diligent in visiting all the other posts, officers were now highly valuable, and the Biddiford must have felt her great loss in that respect much more sensibly, had she not been remarkably assisted by the good conduct and bravery of Mr. Russel the purser, who being always, through choice, stationed with the lieutenant on the main deck, kept up a very brisk and well directed fire from the guns of his quarter: and of the two mates Mr. Ratsey and Mr. Noble, and the clerk, Mr. Stewart, who were of great service at the other guns: and of Serjeant Sleigh, whose well disciplined marines, under his command, in the absence of their officer, sick on shore, had much merit in this action.

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1760.

Gallant
behaviour
of the sur-
viving offi-
cers.

Under such circumstances, of an enemy that seemed to make sure of reaping advantage from the misfortunes of the Biddiford; and of a crew that were determined not to yield to superior force, the fight continued bloody and obstinate, and there appeared on each side a very hard struggle for conquest. At last, the Biddiford's people grew more cool and steady: a principle of duty took place of rage, and they fought, if possible, better than before; one post vying with another, gun with gun, and platoon with platoon, who should send the quickest and surest destruction to their foe: even numbers of the wounded men returned with cheerfulness to their quarters, as soon as the surgeon had dressed their wounds, which was indeed expeditiously performed. The enemy going large, under an easy sail, kept very far a-
breast

Desperate.

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French
run.

breast of the Biddiford, during the whole action, so the Biddiford luckily had no occasion to touch a brace or bowline, which were all shot to pieces. About ten their fire slackened apace, one gun became silent after another, till at length they hardly made any return, not discharging above four guns the last quarter of an hour, though very near, and receiving all the Biddiford's fire. It was judged by that, they were going to strike: but it seems they were preparing for flight; for at half past ten she made off, with every rag of sail they could set. The Biddiford then poured a whole broadside into her, and a volley of small arms nearly at the same instant, which were the last guns ever got to bear on her. The Biddiford attempted to pursue her, but found they had no command of the ship, the running rigging being all cut, the masts and yards quite shattered and disabled: she therefore went a-head very fast, and about half an hour after disappeared. The Biddiford chiefly suffered in the rigging, no part of which escaped; the hull was very little hurt: only nine killed, including the captain; twenty-six wounded, with the lieutenant.

Of Captain
Harvey.

Captain Harvey, on the 8th of July, chased a very rich French vessel into a river, near Port Louis in the Bay, defended by a battery. He ran close to this battery with his own ship, drove the men from their guns, and knocked down the guard house. He himself landed, the same night, with his boats, and just at day-light surprized 26 of the guard, threw the guns into the sea,

sea, burnt the guard house, brought off the ammunition, and sent his boats up to bring away the vessel. But she had run into a dry shore: so that they could only destroy and burn her. However, he brought off four small barks, and 30 prisoners.

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The captures^d within the course of this year ^{Captures.} from the French, consisted chiefly of privateers, armed merchantmen, and royal ships of war. The royal ships were only six, mounting in all but 176 guns. But the privateers and armed merchantmen amounted to 110, which carried 848 carriage guns, and 240 swivels, and 6389 men. So that it could not be expected otherwise than that such a swarm of privateers must have done us a considerable damage in our merchantile navigation, carried on with such a numerous shipping in all parts of the world, before it was possible to meet with their stations and cruises. Which consideration added to another as evident, that the enemy had no ships at sea, but a few under convoy from the West Indies, and some coasting vessels, will rationally account for the disproportion in the number of prizes taken from the French, compared with those taken by them from us; in which we find a balance of 220 merchantmen, colliers, and coasters, against us; but few ships and cargoes of any considerable value. Amongst these we ^{French cruelties towards our men.} meet with examples of cruelty and inhumanity, that disgrace the very name of christianity, under the commission of the most Christian King. For,

^d See Vol. IV. page 297.

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in the course of this year *, Jeremiah Watkins, several years commander in the West India trade, but at this time of his falling into the hands of a cruel French enemy, supercargo of the Crump letter of marque ship, of 16 guns, and 50 men, William Turner commander, made oath, before Alderman Alsop, in the Guildhall of London, That in the voyage from London to Antigua, they were chased in latitude 21, longitude 45, by three French men of war, and that one of them, called the Syren frigate, of 32 guns, came up with the Crump after thirteen hours chase; That after two hours and a quarter's engagement, having nine men wounded, the Crump struck, and was carried into Brest; where the officers and crew were put into a dungeon 40 feet under ground, for 33 days, without any light for 16 hours in 24; and that there were confined in this unwholesome and hideous place about 113 men, of whom nine were captains; without any hopes of relief, the commissary absolutely refusing to grant them light, and the soldiers not suffering any one to come near enough to speak to a prisoner. And to render the loss of their liberty as miserable as possible, they were marched from thence about 130 miles, to Vannes, and put into the common gaol, with the felons condemned to die, till released by a cartel †.

When

* January 11, 1760.

† HANOVER, SS.

Kingston in Jamaica, Sept. 22.

The deposition of John M'Cormick, and Paul Preston, mariners, who being duly sworn on the holy evangelists, this
6th



J. Gwin Sculpt

CAPT.^N LANCELOT SKYNNER.

When posterity shall compare this treatment of English prisoners of war, with the generosity of our

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6th day of September, 1759, before me, made oath, That on Sunday, the 5th day of August last, being then on board the snow Desire, Edward Stiles, master, from and belonging to Philadelphia, and bound to Lucca, in Jamaica, being about 12 or 14 leagues to the east end of that island, they saw a sloop to windward of them, which gave them chase all that day, firing several shot under an English pendant; and that the said sloop continued chasing them till the next day, and then hoisted a French jack, and about eight o'clock came along side of the said snow, and they fought each other about two hours and a half, when Captain Stiles ordered his mate to strike the colours, their powder being almost spent, and one of their guns dismounted, and having but six men and four boys on board, captain and officers included. The said two deponents, John M'Cormick, and Paul Preston, further say, That about a quarter of an hour after they had struck their colours, the people from on board the said sloop boarded them with about 100 men, as near as the said deponents could guess; and that as soon as the said men from on board the sloop had entered the snow, the captain and people of the said snow, being below, called out for quarter; and that the men belonging to the said sloop answered, "No quarter, you English dogs;" upon which the mate of the snow went upon his knees, begging still for quarter. And the said deponents say, the men belonging to the said sloop rushed down into the cabin, and killed the mate while he was in that posture, and split his head down in two parts with a cutlass; after which they went to the captain of the said snow, and while he was begging for quarter, the said sloop's people shot him in the head, and then in several parts of his body; after which they stabbed him in the side with a knife, and turned the knife in the wound, and then he died. Then the said sloop's people stripped the said captain stark naked, and threw him over-board into the sea. The said deponents further say, That they then

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our nation towards the French, whom the fortune of war had thrown into their hands, how will they

killed the man at the helm, by cutting his head off with a cutlass, and then they threw the bodies of the mate, whom they had killed, and of the man that was at the helm, into the sea. The said deponents further say, That several of the said sloop's people went into the fore-castle of the said snow, and that one of the said sloop's men aimed a blow with his cutlass at the throat of one of the men belonging to the said snow, but missed his blow; upon which he drew a poignard that he had at his side, and stuck it into the shoulder of another man belonging to the said snow, and there let it stand while he plundered the people's chests, and then pulled it out again. The said deponents further say, That the said sloop that took the said snow, is a French privateer, called the Mariétapage, mounting 14 carriage guns, and 22 swivels, and carrying 125 men, from and belonging to Port-au-prince, in the island of Hispaniola, and that the Captain's name is Monf. Fernandes.

JOHN M'CORMICK.

PAUL PRESTON.

Sworn before me, one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the parish aforesaid, the day and year above written.

EDWARD KNOWLES.

Port-au-Prince, Sept. 18, 1759.

I George Massum, of London, commander of the ship Britannia, bound from New York to Jamaica, declare the following for the truth.—On the 6th of September, 1759. being a-breast of Cape Maize, and bearing N. distance about six leagues, we saw a sloop with all her sails down, about two miles off; we then set all her sails, and stood for Cuba. We made more sail, by setting the steering sails, and stood after them, to put on a good countenance, during which time she run: I then altered my course for Jamaica, and she altered her course, and she made towards us; on which we got every thing

they be surprized at a people, whose continual boast is of their politeness, generosity, charity and

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1760.

acts
thing ready, and every body to their quarters. As soon as they came pretty near us, they hoisted a French flag at their mast head, and fired a shot over us; we immediately hoisted English colours, and fired two guns, and kept firing until dark, when she sheered off for some time; but returned again, and gave us a gun, which practice she continued all night, and we answered it.

In the forenoon of the 7th, about ten o'clock, having but little wind, she came under our stern, and with her bow-chace, swivels and small arms, kept a continual fire upon us; and a stink-pot at her jib-boom being run over our stern, dropped on the quarter-deck, and killed the first mate. We made what defence we could with the few bad small arms we had, not being able to bring any of our great guns to bear upon them, having no stern chace; and their small arms, blunderbusses, and swivels continually playing, we were obliged to quit the decks for safety, and leave the colours unstruck, it being impossible to do it and live. They perceiving how ill provided we were with small arms, boarded us before we could get below; but it was about ten minutes before they came down into the cabin, notwithstanding we constantly called for quarters. Finding we made no resistance, two came down, and were soon followed by about sixteen more; they then killed the boatswain, and three of the people outright, and wounded the cooper desperately, notwithstanding their crying out for quarter all the time. I then got into my state room, with my boy, steward, and a young gentleman, called Donald Campbell, who had served in Colonel Montgomery's regiment, still begging for quarters; during which the lieutenant coming down, it was all over for some time, and they began to strip every body that were alive; but if any one begged for their cloaths, they immediately presented a pistol at him, and fired, which was the case of Mr. Campbell, who had the good fortune to escape death, but the powder went near to blow his eyes out, and

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English
generosity
and chari-
ty towards
French
prisoners.

acts of piety, when it will be found, that the French contrived means to render captivity more irksome; but the English endeavoured to make the confinement of their enemies as comfortable as possible; whose prisons were, in general, well situated in wholesome air; and their persons suffered no restraint, but what wisdom, in our dealings with an enemy, and self-preservation dictated. If they were able and willing to improve the time of their confinement by any handicraft trade, that could be carried on with conveniency in their place of imprisonment, they were encouraged to mend their circumstances by industry: and such as had no trade, and were in need of the common necessities to cover themselves in a rigorous winter, the voluntary charity of the good people of England raised a generous contribution to supply these wants: and when they were abandoned by their

tore and disfigured his face very much. They stripped me of every thing but my breeches. The carpenter and five more are very ill wounded, and it is surprizing they are alive, as one or more balls have been extracted out of all, and three out of the carpenter, one in the face, one in the arm, and one in the back; the rest have had them in their arms, thighs, and bodies; six are killed, and six wounded; among the former we must reckon the cooper, who might have possibly lived, if they had not thrown him over-board, notwithstanding all the poor man's intreaties, for no other reason, that I can imagine, but because he was unable to get over the side of the ship into the boat. The lieutenant of the privateer prevented my being shot once, and the French boatswain another time. The prize-master, I think, killed five with his own hand.

GEORGE MASSUM.

OWN

own King, who withdrew his petty allowance for their subsistence, the British court, with an unprecedented generosity, provided for their maintenance, at the expence of the public purse. A. D. 1760.

The sense and temper of the people cannot be better exemplified than in their public acts of rejoicing; which, in the course of this year, were exhibited in their general devout behaviour on the solemn day of thanksgiving, kept on the 12th of October, pursuant to a royal proclamation, to address the Supreme Being for those blessings Great Britain had lately experienced, under the divine protection and assistance, so remarkably seen in the successes of our arms: in the national approbation and thanks given to Sir Edward Hawke ^{Measures of the ministry agreeable to the nation.}

^{Day of thanksgiving.}
^{Parliamentary thanks to our admirals and generals.}
Vice-

Sir Edward Hawke received the thanks of the House of Commons, by the mouth of the Speaker, who, in a most elegant speech, *recounted the eminent services the admiral had done his country*; and concluded with telling him, how pleasing the office was to convey the thanks of the House to him for those services, particularly for the late signal victory obtained over the French fleet. Upon which Sir Edward said,

“ Mr. Speaker!

“ I own myself greatly at a loss, as to the proper manner of acknowledging the great honour conferred on me by this august House, in their distinguished approbation of my conduct, on the 20th of November last. In doing my utmost, I only did the duty I owed my King and country, which ever has been, and shall be, my greatest ambition to perform faithfully and honestly, to the best of my ability. I can only assure this honourable House, that I receive this mark of honour with the greatest respect; and shall ever retain the most grateful sense of it.

A. D. Vice-Admiral Saunders, Rear-Admiral Holmes,
1760. and Brigadier-General Townshend, for their glorious

“ Before I sit down, permit me, Sir, in particular, to return you my most respectful thanks for the obliging manner in which you have communicated to me the great honour done me by this House, which I shall always esteem as the highest obligation.”

In the year 1734, Mr. Hawke, having been bred to the sea from a very early age, was made captain of his Majesty's sloop the Wolf, and from this time took rank in the navy.

In the engagement in the Mediterranean in 1743-4, he commanded the Berwick, broke the line in Admiral Rowley's division, and took the Podor (the only ship then taken) was broke for his bravery, and restored by the King.

In 1747, at a general promotion of flag-officers, he was made rear-admiral of the blue.

The same year he was sent on a cruise to intercept a large fleet of French merchantmen, bound from several ports in France for the West Indies, under the convoy of a strong Squadron of men of war from Brest. On the 14th of October he fell in with this fleet, engaged it, and took six capital ships, which he soon afterwards brought into Portsmouth.

In November the same year he was made Knight of the Bath, as a reward for the signal service he had done his country in this action; and in the December following he was chosen member of parliament for Portsmouth.

In the year 1748, he was sent on a cruise in the bay, where he fell in with the Magnanime, one of the finest ships in the French navy, which was taken by the Nottingham.

The admiral was also this year chosen an elder brother of the Trinity-house.

In the month of December, 1749, he sat in a court-martial, held on board the Charlotte-yacht at Deptford, for enquiring into the conduct of Rear-Admiral Knowles, in an action between a fleet under his command and a Spanish Squadron

rious and successful services against the French: in the tokens of gratitude of the East India

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1760.

company

dron off Hispaniola, when it appearing, that the admiral attacked six ships with four, when he might have attacked with six, and that when, after an hour's fight within pistol-shot, his ship was disabled, he staid on board till she was refitted, and then carried her down again to the charge, instead of going aboard another ship immediately, he was reprimanded.

He also sat at a court-martial held at Deptford in February 1750, for the trial of Captain Holmes and Captain Powlet, who were accused by Admiral Knowles for misbehaviour in the same action, when they were both, particularly Captain Holmes, acquitted with great honour.

On June 16, 1756, he sailed from Portsmouth, with orders to supersede Admiral Byng, and send him home under arrest; and commanded the remainder of that year in the Mediterranean.

On the 24th of July, 1757, he was appointed to command the squadron that was sent in conjunction with some forces, under the command of Sir John Mordaunt, against Rochefort on the coast of France.

On the 22d of October, 1757, he sailed again for the coast of France, and was afterwards joined by Admiral Boscawen; but being detained by contrary winds, he did not arrive a second time in the road of Basque till the third of April, 1758, when he fell in with a large convoy of French ships, laden with provisions for North America, which he ran on shore, and so many of them were disabled, that the rest could not proceed on their voyage; so that the service intended was wholly frustrated.

On the 18th of May, 1759, he sailed with a very strong fleet from Portsmouth, to observe the French fleet at Brest. He afterwards received the Prince on board, and kept this station till October 12th following, when he was driven from it by the violence of the wind, and in the beginning of November put into Plymouth; but on the 14th of the same month

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Annuity
settled on
Colonel
Lawrence
by the
East India
company.
Addresses
to his Ma-
jesty, on
the success
of our
arms.

company to Colonel Lawrence, who having, at a general court, thanked him for his great services, very generously and unanimously resolved, That he should be allowed an annuity of 500*l.* per annum^a: and more generally in the addresses to the throne from the city of London and other corporations and bodies politic. In which they congratulated his Majesty upon the late signal successes, with which it had pleased the divine Providence to bless his Majesty's arms by sea and land; and observed, That the conquest of Canada, so heroically begun at Quebec, so nobly seconded by the defeat and dispersion of the enemy's fleet upon the coast of Brittany, and so happily completed, without the effusion of human blood, at Montreal, not only reflected the

month he sailed again, and on the 20th defeated the French fleet, commanded by Mons. Conflans, (for a particular account of which, the reader is referred to Vol. IV. p. 262—280.) For this service his Majesty settled upon him and his two sons, and the survivor of them, 2000*l.* per annum.

^a The East India company, after thanking Colonel Lawrence, lately arrived in England, at a general court, for his great services, came to the following very generous resolution:—"Resolved unanimously, That, in consideration of the many, great, signal and successful services of Colonel Stringer Lawrence, as commander in chief of the company's forces in the East-Indies, (in which station he has constantly acted with the utmost zeal, fidelity and disinterestedness, and has, during such his service, undergone the greatest fatigues with an alacrity which a just sense of the duty he owed his country in general, and the company in particular, could only inspire) he be allowed an annuity, for life, of 500*l.* a year, to commence from his leaving Madraſs, as a token of the company's gratitude."

highest

highest honour upon the wisdom and vigour of his Majesty's councils; upon the conduct, fortitude and activity of his commanders, and upon the bravery and discipline of his fleets and armies; but was an event of the utmost importance to the trade and manufactures of these kingdoms; it being the only effectual means to secure his Majesty's industrious subjects, in North America, against the continual encroachments, and unparalleled barbarities of a restless and insidious enemy, ever more dangerous in peace than war; and promised chearfully, at all times, to exert those means towards enabling his Majesty to preserve that valuable acquisition, and effectually to prosecute the various and extensive services of this just and necessary war, and to dictate to the aggressors the terms of a safe and honourable peace.

With which his Majesty was greatly satisfied; and, in his answers, most graciously signified his concurrence in the sense, which his faithful and most loyal subjects discovered, in favour of the abilities and integrity of his ministry, and the opinion of the importance of his conquests, and the justness and necessity of the war¹.

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¹ *His Majesty's most gracious answer to the city of London.*

"I have the highest satisfaction in this fresh and signal proof of your affection to me, and to my government, for which I return you my hearty thanks. The same union amongst my people, and the same ability and valour in my fleets and armies, will, I trust, under the blessing of God, enable me, in the end, to terminate this necessary and expensive war, by an honourable, advantageous, and lasting peace."

The

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City of
Bath's
compliments to
Mr. PITT.

The city of Bath were so thoroughly convinced of the national sense, that ascribed the merit of our successes in a particular manner to the great abilities of their worthy representative, the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT, Esq; that they, in an incorporate capacity, ordered their most grateful thanks to be transmitted to him, for exerting those abilities with so much zeal and unwearied diligence, in the service of his Majesty, and our country: and, in order to pay that regard which is justly due to distinguished merit, they, with an honour almost without a precedent, intreated him to accept of the same trust in the ensuing election, which he then enjoyed, as representative in parliament for that laudable and ancient city *.

Such

* Mr. PITT's answer.

St. James's-Square, Oct. 9, 1760.

“ Mr. Mayor, and gentlemen of the corporation,

I am this day honoured with your letter, and cannot defer a moment to express the sentiments of the warmest and most respectful gratitude for such a fresh mark of your condescension and goodness to me, after the many great and unmerited favours which you have already conferred upon me.

Happy! that my feeble endeavours for the King's service, have, in your candid interpretation, stood in the place of more effectual deservings; and that, actuated by the generous motives of zeal and steady attachment to his Majesty's government, you are pleased again to think of committing to me the important and honourable trust of representing you at the next general election.

Be assured, gentlemen, that I am justly proud of the title of servant of the city of Bath, and that I can never sufficiently manifest the deep sense I have of your distinguished and repeated

Such was the reputation of the minister for his share in the success of our arms, and his zeal and diligence in the service done this year, for his king and country. But we might have expected a stroke, both in our politicks and in our measures, had the grand armament, which was carried on for so many months at Portsmouth, been expedited as vigorously as it was wisely planned, which, probably, would then have crowned all our endeavours with a glorious peace. But, happy for our enemies, as it was the greatest disaster for Great Britain, at such a critical juncture; when this expedition had surmounted all the difficulties of office, and cabals of the c—t; and when the soldiers were embarked, with all the apparatus of death and destruction; when the fleet had received orders to sail, and only waited a favourable wind, at Spithead; when Great George, who reigned in the hearts of his grateful subjects, for his national and vigorous measures, impatiently expected to compel the ambitious conquered enemy to submit to the power of his arms, that had refused to accept of his generous offers of peace, His most Sacred Majesty was suddenly removed by

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1760.

The expedition how
delayed
and put
off.

peated favours; nor express the respect, gratitude and affection with which I remain,

Death of
King
George II.

Mr. Mayor,

and Gentlemen of the Corporation,

Your most faithful

and most obliged humble servant,

W. PITT."

death

A D.
1760.

death from the sphere of action, in which he triumphed in the affections of his subjects, and in the chastisement of his enemies. Fatal death! from whose power no creature, though ever so exalted, can be exempt! never more fatal to a victorious nation! In this death we presently saw our laurels wither, our sinews relax, our strength decay. His Majesty's breath was scarce gone, before the expedition at Spithead was ordered to stop, to disembark, and to be laid aside.

Remarks.

This fatal accident, of the death of King George II. happened on the 25th day of October, at Kensington, early in the morning; and was occasioned by the bursting of the right ventricle of his heart¹; a very extraordinary case: and rendered

¹ *The account of what appeared to the Surgeons upon opening the body of his late Majesty.*

Kensington-palace, Oct. 26, 1760.

In obedience to the order transmitted to us, by the Right Honourable Mr. Vice-Chamberlain; We, the undersigned, have this day opened and examined the body of his late Majesty, in the presence of Sir Edward Wilmot, Bart. and Dr. Nicholls, two of his late Majesty's physicians; and first, on opening the belly, we found all the parts therein contained in a natural and healthy state, except only that on the surface of the kidney there were some hydatids, or watery bladders, which, however, we determined could not have been at this time of any material consequence.

On opening the breast, we observed the pericardium, or bag, which contains the heart, extraordinarily distended, which was owing to a large effusion of blood that had been discharged therein, from a rupture in the substance of the right ventricle of the heart. The quantity of the blood in the pericardium,

rendered more unaccountable, as it happened in a healthy constitution, and in one unaccustomed to excess, and at a time of life that could not be supposed to be overcharged with blood.

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We have not room, nor is there any necessity for us to expatiate on the character of this great Prince, who finished a long and happy reign in the midst of a period, abounding with great events; for his virtue and glorious actions will for ever live in the hearts of all true Englishmen^m, and the friends of liberty and religion. We can only mourn at the national loss of a Sovereign, "who was the great support of that system, by which alone the liberties of Europe, and the weight and influence of these kingdoms can be preserved, and gave life to the measures, conducive to those important endsⁿ."

Thus died a King, whose lenity, moderation and wisdom in government; whose uniform regard to our laws and constitution; whose constant was at least a pint, the most part of which was strongly coagulated.

The rupture of the ventricle, and consequent effusion of blood in the pericardium, were certainly the immediate cause of his late Majesty's sudden death.

The brain, lungs, and all the other parts, were in a perfect state.

E. WILMOT,

JOHN RANBY,

FR. NICHOLIS,

C. HAWKINS.

^m Whose glorious reign and princely virtues must ever make his memory dear to a grateful people. See London address, Oct. 20, 1760.

ⁿ See King George III's first speech to parliament.

and

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and inviolable integrity, with which his engagements were fulfilled; whose firmness and resolution with which his counsels were directed, justly demand the most affectionate remembrance, and grateful acknowledgments of a dutiful and happy people.—A King, who was called from his people at a time when he had filled their hearts with the utmost joy; in the midst of their triumphs, thanksgivings and congratulations; who lived to see his counsels blessed with success, and his arms with victory in every part of the globe; who lived to see the British name, under his auspices, advanced to the highest pitch of dignity and grandeur, and concluded his long and prosperous reign, when full of years and full of glory.

A loss most sensibly felt at this critical and difficult juncture; and whose consequences would have been much more dreaded by the nation, had they not been prepossessed with an opinion, that there existed a constant and good understanding between the successor and the minister, and that the measures, which had been adopted at St. James's were agreeable at Leicester-House. For, it was a general fear, that a change in the ministry, that should remove the active men from the helm, would deprive the nation of all the advantages obtained by our victories and conquests.

Accession
of King
Geo. III.

His Majesty *GEORGE the Third* succeeded his grandfather, to the throne and glory of these kingdoms, at a time Great Britain was involved in a long and very expensive war, with an enemy,
that

that had never kept the faith of treaties, when they could break them with advantage or impunity, nor would ever hearken to the voice of peace, upon honourable and safe terms. How-
 ever, this war had been so well conducted, and blessed with so great success, that the perfidious enemy could no longer face us at sea, nor protect their trade, nor defend their islands, nor invade our dominions, nor prevent our descents upon their coasts, nor maintain one inch of property on the vast continent of North America; nor protect their settlements in Asia and Africa, nor even keep up their credit at home. George the second had added, by his sword, the riches of the American fisheries; the hostile territories taken from the French in North America; the sugar islands of Guadaloupe, and its dependencies; the gum trade of Africa, and the greatest and most improvable commerce in the Asiatic regions, to the crown of Great Britain. Conquests, that eclipse the glory of our Henry's and Edwards, both for their number and importance; and, if rightly managed, were sufficient to give a scope to generosity, and at the same time to demand a peace upon terms that should not oppress, but effectually put it out of the power of, our natural, ambitious, restless, and perfidious enemy to improve the advantages of a peace, to the raising another war. What was a greater blessing, his Majesty deceased had left to his heir and successor a rich and united people, able and ready to support him in this just, necessary and successful war, till

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1760.

State of
the nation.

A D.
1760.

the desirable end of a safe and adequate peace should be obtained: and if we cast an eye upon the public declarations and speeches of his present Majesty, at his accession to the throne, we shall have the greatest reason, in the world, to believe, that King George III. was well pleased with the councils and measures, which had conducted so much to the interest of the nation; that he was thoroughly convinced of their propriety; and that he was resolved to make no alteration, but to proceed in the system laid down, and so gloriously executed by his grandfather.

His Majesty's declaration.

In his Majesty's declaration to the Lords and Privy Council assembled upon his accession, we find that he was graciously pleased to assure them, "That he depended on the advice, experience and abilities of their Lordships—and "That as he did mount the throne in the midst of an expensive, but just and necessary war, he should endeavour to prosecute it in the manner, the most likely to bring about an honourable and lasting peace, in concert with his allies."

As soon as this declaration was published, all our fears of a change in the ministry, that in any wise might affect the interest of the nation, in the pursuit of those means requisite to finish the war with an adequate, safe and glorious peace, were dispersed and laid. Addresses, in the most warm and affectionate stile and words, were daily presented from all parts and respectable bodies of men, throughout these dominions. However, the city of London, at the same time that they
congratulated

congratulated his Majesty, and joined in the universal approbation and joy of the whole nation, with the strongest assurances of their unalterable zeal for his Majesty's sacred person and government, they did not fail to inform him, That this was at a time when the honour and credit of the nation were (by the courage and activity of his Majesty's fleets and armies) in the highest extent; at a time also when there were happily no divisions at home to obstruct those measures, which had carried terror to the enemies abroad. They remarked upon the excellency of the laws of these kingdoms, which, they observed, are so excellently formed, that as they give liberty to the people, they give power to the prince, and are a mutual support of the prerogatives of the crown and the rights of the subject: and concluded with a full conviction, that his Majesty had the true interest of this nation entirely at heart, and that his power would be ever exerted in protecting the trade, rights and liberties of his subjects.

These good sentiments of the nation, in regard to his Majesty, were much improved by his most gracious speech at the opening of the parliament, on the 18th of November. In which he acknowledges his royal grandfather to have been the great support of that system, by which *alone* the liberties of Europe, and the weight and influence of these kingdoms can be preserved, and to have given life to the measures conducive to those important ends. Having mentioned the addition of weight, which immediately fell upon himself, in be-

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1760.

Speech to
parlia-
ment.

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1760.

ing called to the government of a free and powerful country, at such a time, and under such circumstances, his Majesty adds, That his consolation was in the uprightness of his own intentions, in the faithful and united assistance of his parliament, and in the blessing of heaven upon their joint endeavours. Then promising to maintain the constitution in church and state, the toleration, the civil and religious rights of his subjects, and to encourage the practice of true religion and virtue, He was graciously pleased to reflect, with pleasure, on the successes, with which the British arms had been prospered this last summer. In particular his Majesty was of opinion, That the total reduction of the vast province of Canada, with the city of Montreal, is of the most interesting consequence, and as heavy a blow to his enemies, as glorious to himself. The more glorious, because effected almost without the effusion of blood, and with that humanity, which makes an amiable part of the character of this nation. His Majesty signalized the advantages we had gained in the East Indies, as they would greatly diminish the strength and trade of France in those parts, as well as procure the most solid benefits to the commerce and wealth of his subjects: and after an approbation of the conduct of Prince Ferdinand, his general in Germany, who with a much inferior army had not only stopt their progress, but gained advantages over the whole French force, without coming to a general engagement; and his royal testimony of the magnanimity and

6

perfe-

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perseverance of his good brother and ally the King of Prussia, who not only withstood the various attacks of the numerous arms, with which he was surrounded, but had obtained very considerable victories over them; his Majesty proceeds to declare his great satisfaction to have received the navy, the principal article of our natural strength, in such a good condition; whilst the fleet of France was weakened to such a degree, that the small remains of it had continued blocked up by his ships in their own ports: and that it was the joy of his heart to see the commerce of his kingdoms, that great source of our riches, and fixed object of his never failing care and protection, flourishing to an extent unknown, at a time when the French trade was reduced to the lowest ebb. His Majesty acknowledged his just sense of the valour and intrepidity of his officers and forces, both by sea and land, which had been distinguished so much to the glory of this nation; promised to encourage and reward such merit; and declared, that the zealous and useful service of the militia was very acceptable to him.

Having thus fully approved of, and extolled the measures and successes of the former reign, his Majesty continues,—“ In this state I found
“ things at my accession to the throne of my an-
“ cestors; happy, in viewing the prosperous part
“ of it; happier still should I have been, had I
“ found my kingdoms, whose interest I have en-
“ tirely at heart, in full peace: but, since the am-
“ bition, injurious encroachments and dangerous
“ designs

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“ designs of my enemies rendered the war both
“ just and necessary, and the generous overture
“ made last winter, towards a congress for a pa-
“ cification, has not yet produced a suitable re-
“ turn, I am determined, with your chearful and
“ powerful assistance, to prosecute this war with
“ vigour, in order to that desirable object, a safe
“ and honourable peace. For this purpose it is
“ absolutely incumbent upon us to be early pre-
“ pared; and I rely upon your zeal and hearty
“ concurrence to support the King of Prussia, and
“ the rest of our allies, and to make ample pro-
“ vision for carrying on the war, as the only
“ means to bring our enemies to equitable terms
“ of accommodation.—I desire only such sup-
“ plies, as shall be requisite to prosecute the war
“ with advantage, be adequate to the necessary
“ services, and that they might be provided for
“ in the most safe and effectual manner.—The
“ eyes of all Europe are upon you, *my Lords and*
“ *Gentlemen*. From your resolutions, the prote-
“ stant interest hopes for protection, as well as
“ all our friends for the preservation of their in-
“ dependency; and our enemies fear the final dis-
“ appointment of their ambitious and destructive
“ views. Let these hopes, and fears, be con-
“ firmed, and augmented, by the vigour, una-
“ nimity and dispatch of your proceedings—
“ That happy extinction of divisions, and that
“ union and good harmony, which continue to
“ prevail amongst my subjects, afford me the most
“ agreeable prospect. The natural disposition,
“ and

“and wish, of my heart, are to cement and promote them : and I promise myself, that nothing will arise, on our part, to interrupt or disturb a situation, so essential to the true and lasting felicity of this great people.”

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1760.

The contents of this speech filled every heart, mourning for the loss of their beloved King, with inexpressible joy, to find that it would be made up, so as not to be felt in the management of the national affairs, by the accession of an heir to the throne, who seemed to be ordained, by the particular favour, which providence has at all times of greatest distress shewn to this nation, to finish and complete what was still wanting, towards the establishment of general tranquility, and the attainment of an honourable and lasting peace ; to repair the ruins and ravages of a destructive war ; to secure the domestic happiness of his own subjects, by preserving and strengthening the constitution in church and state ; to protect the protestant interest, and to support the King of Prussia, and the rest of our allies.

Remarks.

This was the sense, in which the nation in general understood this gracious, elegant, and excellent speech : and this was the sense in which both Houses of Parliament received it from the throne. The Lords referring to that part relating to the German war, address his Majesty in this strong and nervous manner :—‘ We have the ‘justest sense of the happy consequences derived ‘to the operations of Great Britain in particular, ‘as well as to the common cause in general,

Sense of
the people.

Of both
houses of
parliament.

A. D.
1760.

‘ from the wise conduct of Prince Ferdinand of
 ‘ Brunswick.—The noble stand made, and the
 ‘ victories obtained by the King of Prussia, must
 ‘ be the strongest motives to the powers engaged
 ‘ against him, to concur in the proper measures
 ‘ to restore the tranquility of Europe.—Animated
 ‘ by the duty which we owe to your Majesty,
 ‘ and by our zeal for the honour and interest of
 ‘ these kingdoms, we give your Majesty the
 ‘ strongest assurances, that we will chearfully sup-
 ‘ port you in prosecuting the war; assist the
 ‘ King of Prussia and the rest of your allies, &c.’
 The House of Commons assured his Majesty,
 ‘ That they would concur in such measures as
 ‘ should be requisite for the vigorous and effectual
 ‘ prosecution of the war; and that they would
 ‘ chearfully and speedily grant such supplies as
 ‘ should be found necessary for that purpose, and
 ‘ for the support of the King of Prussia, and the
 ‘ rest of his Majesty’s allies.’ This was not only
 promised by the dutiful commons, but punctually
 and speedily performed: who granted 18,300,145*l*.
 9*s*. 5*d* $\frac{1}{2}$ for the service and contingencies of the
 year 1761.

Supplies.
for 1761.

The END of the FIFTH BOOK.

THE

THE
GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
LATE WAR.

BOOK VI.

Containing a treaty proposed and begun by the belligerent powers. French intrigues, and the difficulties in the negociation. Treaty broke off. Insidious conduct of Spain during the negociation. The family compact by the house of Bourbon. The war in Germany, between the allies and the French. The action at Fritzlar: siege of Cassel: the battle of Langersaltze. The action at Storgerode. Battle of Kirk-Denken; and a variety of motions, skirmishes and attacks on both sides. The operations of the King of Prussia. The motions of the Russians: the siege and loss of Colberg. Schweidnitz taken by a coup de main. The war transferred to Pomerania. The progress of our arms in the East Indies. Pondicherry besieged and taken. The expedition against Bellisle, and its conquest. Change in

*in the English ministry. The Right Honourable
WILLIAM PITT, Esq; resigns.*

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HOW much soever the King and parliament seemed to be for a vigorous war, and to support the King of Prussia and the rest of our allies; and how well inclined his Majesty appeared at his accession, to pursue the measures, and to adhere to the councils, which had raised Great Britain from the contempt, to be the scourge of our enemies; the French faction thought this a fair opportunity to amuse us once more with their inclination for peace. All their engines were set to work to deceive the new comers to court: who not having been accustomed to state business, were more easily persuaded to prefer pacific than military motions; and their influence prevailed so far, that it was soon discovered, by the countenance given to the advocates against the German war, and against the King of Prussia in particular; and by the opposition to the vigorous counsels in favour of those grand points explained in the King's speech, and provided for by parliament, to accomplish a safe and honourable peace, that the disposition of his Majesty's council was greatly altered, and that the nation must very shortly expect a change, both in the ministry, and in measures.

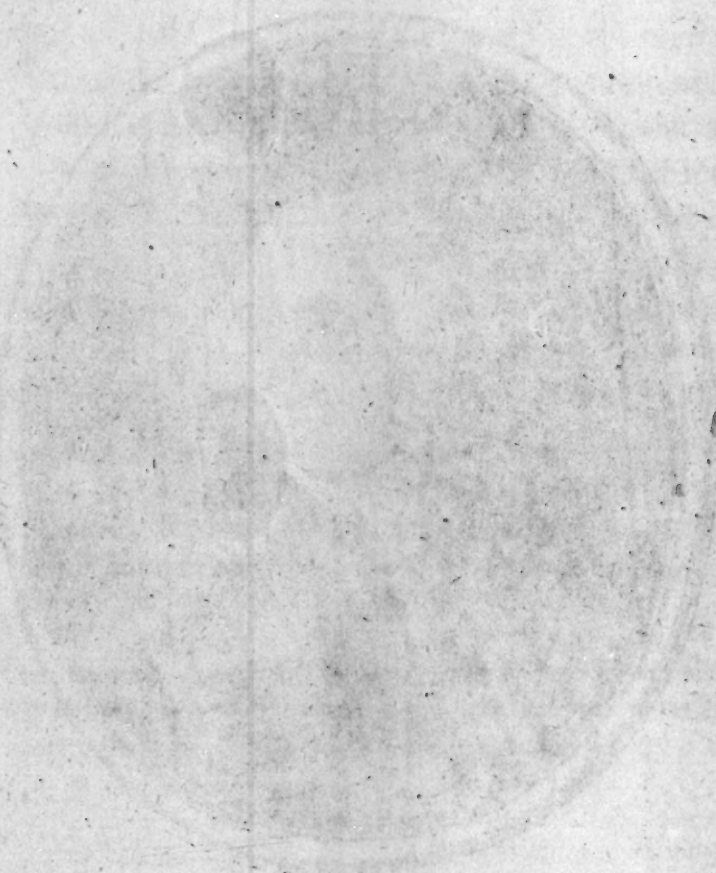
State of
the British
court.

Neither the declarations of his Majesty, nor the concurrence of the parliament, in the most effectual manner, with his Majesty's speech, were sufficient to preserve the nation from the powerful influence



A. Walker sculp.

S^r CHARLES SAUNDERS.



A. D.
1761.

influence of court intrigue, partly biaſſed by private views, to maintain their poſts about the throne; and partly miſſed by falſe conceptions, in regard to the ſtate of the war, and the condition of our country, as well as of our enemies. It was moſt evident that the new King would introduce peculiar friends into the cabinet; and that thoſe friends might be not only averſe to a German war, but inclined to a peace, though not adequate to our ſucceſſes, rather than encumber ourſelves with the management and conduct of the war continued. Theſe new counſellors were the very people wanted at the helm by the French partizans. And they, who had been the moſt zealous advocates for the German war, ſaw very plainly, that their exiſtence in the cabinet depended precariouſly upon an obſequious acquieſcence to pacific meaſures. They were alſo not generally favourable to the great miniſter's ſyſtem, which was to eſpouſe the German war no further, than to make thoſe continental connections ſubſervient to the national intereſt of Great Britain; and not to be hurried into a peace dictated by France, which might, as ſuch a peace had always done, ſow the ſeeds of another war; but to oblige our enemies to accept of ſuch conditions, which was in our power to exact, and which the perfidy of France, the injuries we had received, and the conqueſts we had made, required to eſtabliſh a peace on a ſafe, honourable and adequate foundation. So that, by this temper of the cabinet, the miniſter ſaw himſelf in a worſe ſituation, than heretofore; when
he

A. D.
1761.

he found himself supported by his late Majesty against the advocates for a premature peace; and could discern that his authority was now so restrained, that it was not possible for him to execute any effectual plan to complete the ruin of France, or to bring her to terms, which a brave, generous, and victorious nation had in their power, and were ready to grant.

Lord
Bute's pro-
motion.

The first act of the royal favour towards the courtiers, that followed him to the foot of the throne, was the distinguished enrollment of John, Earl of Bute^e, in the list of privy-counsellors, in company with his Majesty's brother the Duke of York; a Scotch nobleman, whose situation in the court at Leicester-house, had furnished him with every opportunity to improve that good opinion, which his Lordship first established in that court, by his inviolable attachment to the King's father, and cultivated with success, through favour of that confidence placed in him by the Princess Dowager, during the minority of the heir apparent. It was very natural for his Royal Highness to esteem him, whom his parents esteemed, and to honour him with his friendship, who was permitted to be the constant companion of his solitude; and to repose the most perfect confidence on his judgment and fidelity, who had been recommended to be his bosom-counsellor, by his father and mother. This nobleman was soon after made groom of the stole to his Majesty, and had the principal ma-

^e On the 27th day of October.

nagement



The Right Hon.^{ble} JOHN EARL of BUTE.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

nagement of the alterations to be made, and the promotions in the King's household. By which provision was made for a considerable number of the attendants in the court of the late Prince of Wales. And from this time Lord Bute was universally looked upon to be the favourite of his Sovereign, and his interest to be not only necessary, but the most certain means of success in all applications to the Court of Great Britain. Virtue, learning and wisdom, are not the only qualifications of a statesman. How far that nobleman was qualified for the business of so powerful a nation, at so critical a juncture, is to appear from the facts, which will be laid before our readers, whose privilege it is to pass their judgment; our duty is only to state them with strict regard to truth, and as clearly as possibly we can.

This situation of the British court could not escape the attention of our enemies, who laid in wait to avail themselves of every incident to deliver them from the power of our arms, and to embroil our councils. It was their interest to seek an end to the war, which tended daily towards their ruin. They very naturally inferred, that peace would be more desirable, than a continuation of the war, to a ministry, whose principals had never been in the practice of arms, nor supposed to be inclined to risk their ease and quiet, to which they had been long inured in retirement and solitude, in the anxieties and disquietudes, that necessarily arise to men at the head of public affairs, from the embarrassments of an extensive, bloody, and most expensive war.

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1761.

The conduct of our
enemies.

Thus

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1761.

Agree to
treat of
peace.

Thus very early in the year 1761, the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, France, Sweden, and Saxony, agreed severally and jointly, to offer proposals towards renewing the negociation for peace, which had been abruptly broken off. France appeared the first mover. But, it is to be suspected, she was the least sincere in her proposal. France was certainly exhausted, and in no wise in a condition to continue the war with allies, which were a burden to her. This was well known; and became an excellent foil to induce a belief of a pacific disposition in the French councils, and a *remora* to the vigorous plans of the English ministry, till the court of Spain could be in a condition to declare in their favour, and make the cause of France, the common interest and cause of all the male branches of the House of Bourbon; and till the people of England should be provoked to cry out for a peace, on any terms, rather than to be compelled to contribute eighteen millions sterling for the service of an inactive year.

Conduct
towards the
King of
Prussia.

All this time elapsed without taking the least step towards the support of the King of Prussia, and the independency of our allies and friends⁹. His Majesty at the opening of the session had declared it to be his intention, “ To maintain, to
“ the utmost of his power, the good faith and
“ honour of his crown, by adhering firmly to
“ the engagements entered into with his allies.” But the treaty with Prussia was not renewed; nei-

⁹ See the King's speech.

ther was the subsidy granted to his Prussian Majesty, the only natural ally of Great Britain, on the continent. After the Prussian minister had been kept in suspense, and diverted by evasions and strange promises, till the King of Prussia had honourably joined^r, at the request of the British court, in a counter declaration to those made^s by the five powers, that were at war against Great Britain and Prussia, his subsidy was withdrawn or refused. How far this conduct bordered upon that faith which we should condemn in another state and potentate, is not our business to enquire. But, if reasons might be brought to vindicate the national faith in this particular, it would puzzle a Machiavel to justify the secret overtures made to the King of Prussia's most inveterate enemy, in order to bring about a peace at his expence; or the tamperings with Russia, to contract the Prussian power within the narrow limits of the electoral territory of Brandenburg.

A. D.
1761.

Here seems to have been a settled resolution not to succour and support the King of Prussia, and to fly from the engagements entered into with our allies. A conduct diametrically opposite from what the people had been made to expect from the speech. A conduct, which having no encouragement either from his Majesty's declaration, or from the refractory temper of parliament, who engaged themselves to provide all the supplies, the

Remarks
on this
conduct.

^r On the 3d of April.

^s Signed at Paris on the 25th of March.

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1761.

King should demand, must be sought for only in them, whose weight, at this juncture, preponderated most in the balance of the British councils; and they, for want of a better excuse and defence, for thus trifling with the national faith, skreened themselves under the laudable name of *OEconomy*.

If any vindication can be offered, it must be that of *OEconomy*; to which it has been sensibly answered, “ That our alliances have cost us some
“ millions of pounds, and some thousands of lives,
“ is not to be denied. These are the sad accounts
“ we must read in the history of war; but does
“ not the same page inform us, that while poverty, oppression, ruin, and desolation were
“ raging in other countries, we enjoyed the sweets
“ of peace: our commerce extended itself every
“ year, beyond the strength of imagination to
“ have fancied; our revenues consequently increased; and to compleat all, our people were
“ content. Had France in the beginning of the
“ war, declined all continental connections; had
“ she dedicated but half the millions, and half
“ the men, she has wasted in Germany, to her
“ marine; had she turned all that strength to the
“ support of her allies, and to the invasion of
“ Great Britain; the scene had been altered, and
“ the posture of affairs had worn another face.

“ It has been said, that we still must have
“ triumphed at sea, had France done her utmost
“ to contend for an equality. Admit it: yet,
“ when we reflect on the excessive distance of our
“ settlements from Britain, and from one another,
“ what

A. D.
1761.

“ what embarrassments must ensue from the im-
“ possibility of discovering the destination of the
“ enemies several squadrons? We remember how
“ near M. de la Clue was escaping from Admiral
“ Boscawen: and, notwithstanding the fortune
“ of that day, in preventing his junction with M.
“ Conflans, how difficult we found it to give
“ Hawke a superiority over Conflans alone. Such
“ are the calls for our men of war, either for our
“ convoys, our colonies, or our expeditions, that
“ notwithstanding the prodigious number of ships
“ in commission, we cannot possibly be provided
“ with sufficient fleets, to preserve a superiority in
“ every service.

“ To which it has been answered, that granting
“ all this to be true, yet as we shall still upon the
“ whole be stronger at sea than our adversary, who
“ will never be able to hurt us essentially, all the
“ millions devoted to continental measures have
“ been so much of the riches of the nation idly
“ dissipated and lost.—But however self-evident
“ this proposition may appear, yet had not those
“ millions been appropriated to the service of
“ Germany, the other millions, that we have ex-
“ pended so gloriously in America, on the grand
“ object of the war, would have been squandered,
“ and the conquest of Canada defeated: for it is
“ the opinion of some of the principal instruments
“ employed in that honourable enterprize; that
“ had the Canadians received but a very little
“ assistance more from France, than they did, the
“ undertaking had been rendered impracticable.

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1761.

“ Can we then suppose, that if France, in the
“ beginning of the war, had turned her thoughts
“ from Germany, to the defence of her colonies,
“ she could not have sent a little more assistance,
“ nay very considerable armaments both of ships
“ and men ?

“ After reaping advantages from a cause then,
“ we ought not to have deserted it; because such
“ a practice will infallibly be deemed by the
“ whole world, as scandalously selfish as it is shame-
“ fully perfidious: as our compacts had been
“ made by the King and council, had received the
“ sanction of parliament, and above all, had been
“ ratified by the approbation of the whole king-
“ dom, there was certainly nothing that should
“ influence our breaking them but absolute neces-
“ sity. This is a plea, which cannot be urged with
“ a good colour of reason; and national faith,
“ when once solemnly plighted, is of too impor-
“ tant a nature to be sported with, and wantonly
“ violated. The deserting our allies, at the con-
“ clusion of Queen Ann’s war, fixed an almost
“ indelible stain on our public honour. The sa-
“ crificing of the poor Catalans was then generally
“ deemed, and has ever since been thought, an
“ act of the highest cruelty. Our defection from
“ the Dutch has been as constantly thought, and
“ often urged by them, a sufficient plea for their
“ not daring to rely on our fidelity. It highly
“ behoved us then to be more circumspect in all
“ circumstances of a like nature, lest we should
“ so prostitute our faith, as to have it become
“ proverbially

proverbially infamous. An honest nation, like
 “ a man of honour, should stand to a bargain,
 “ though over-reached in the making of it.” If
 in the treaty with Prussia it can be said, that we
 were over-reached, it must be in that clause where-
 in the two Kings bound themselves not to make
 peace without each other’s consent. A clause,
 which Mr. PITT *designed to erase*, if he had been
 in power at the time for renewing the treaty; not
 that *he* had ever met with any embarrassments
 from it, (because the King of Prussia reposed the
 most perfect confidence in *him*, and so far from
 hindering *his* negotiations, he had ever done all in
 his power to promote them); but, *because it should*
not be, at any time, a clog on the future measures, or
interests of his country.

A. D.
1761.

Declarations being signed, plenipo’s were no-
 minated to enter into a negotiation of peace at
 Augsburg, in Germany, allowed to be the most
 commodious for the powers in war, to meet on
 such an occasion. On the part of England, the
 important charge of this pacific negotiation was
 entrusted to Lord Egremont, Lord Stormont,
 our ambassador in Poland, and General York, our
 ambassador in Holland: and on the part of France,
 the Count de Choiseul was appointed to compose
 the difference.

Plenipo’s
nominated.

In order to release the belligerent powers from
 embarrassments, that might puzzle or at least greatly
 retard their negotiations, it was unanimously re-
 solved to admit to the treaty, none but the princi-
 pals in the war, and their acting allies. This ex-

Method of
proceeding
in the
treaty be-
tween
France and
England.

A. D.
1761.

clusion of the neutral interests tended greatly to disembarass and simplify the negotiation, in all outward appearance. But this was a mere artifice of French policy, to sow the seeds of a new war, whenever they should be ripe for another rupture with England: as it afterwards discovered itself by the Spanish memorial, presented to the court of London, by M. Buffy, in the course of his negotiations with the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT, Esq; wherein the French monarch insists upon the demands of Spain. Nevertheless, this exclusion was followed by another agreement. In order to get clear of the variety of separate and independent matters, which still remained to be discussed, they proposed to bring back the motives for the war, to their first principles, and to disengage the war between England and France, from those several interests, which originally, and in their own nature, had no connection with their disputes. A proposal, that came first from France, and was represented as an omen of the inclination of the French court for peace. But, as it will appear by the whole tenor of Buffy's negotiation, that their principal object in those proposals for peace, was to dissipate our national treasure, granted by parliament, in delays and inactivity; to divide our councils, and to divide us from our allies; this was a mere fetch in politics, to cover their islands and coasts from further invasion of our fleets, during the negotiations; and to tempt the new interest at the court of London, that already shewed some dislike to the Prussian alliance;

to serve him, as the Tory ministry did the Dutch, who left them to the mercy of their enemies, at the conclusion of Queen Ann's war, though restrained by treaty not to make peace without their consent.

A. D.
1761.

By this arrangement of the affairs in debate, those matters, which truly and properly related to German interests, amongst which were the contentions of the King of Prussia with his enemies, were totally given up, and left to be handled at Augsburg: and the grand object of the war between Great Britain and France being the limits of their respective territories in America, was committed to a separate treaty, to be held at London and Paris. This was conducted by Mr. Stanley on the part of Great Britain, at Paris; and M. Bussy, well known on former occasions to be thoroughly complete in every intrigue and practice of a French politician.

But it was much easier to plan and dispose the method of the treaty, than to adjust the matter and substance. It was not possible for France, if willing to shew a desire of peace, to avoid making concessions, no ways agreeable to her ambition. She had lost all by the war; and therefore the moment her proper quarrel came to be separated from the general cause, she had every disadvantage in the negotiation. Though she had got possession of some places in Germany, those advantages were still precarious, so long as the sword remained unsheathed. All which confirms the insincerity of the French, and convinceth that

Difficulties
in the way
of the
treaty.

A. D. 1761. the sole intention of this negociation was to gain time. They could not place any hopes in a ne-

On the part
of France.

gociation, which gave them no room to treat upon terms of any advantage or honour. Their resource was in Spain. The treaty helped them to dive into the ulterior demands and resolutions of the British court, and furnished them with arguments to hasten their treaty with Spain. They concluded that the Spanish court could not, without serious apprehensions, look upon the total annihilation of the French power in America; which would expose the Spanish colonies, and their riches, to the mercy of England. Thus in effect we are to consider all the concessions and advances made by France, seemingly towards peace, to be in reality so many steps towards a new war. For, whilst at London M. Buffy declaimed upon the moderation and sincerity of his court in their desire to put an end to the troubles and calamities of Europe; they were, by their ambassador at Madrid, taking the most vigorous measures to continue and spread them further.

Delays on
the part of
England.

They could not impute the like insincerity to the English; though many circumstances co-operated to retard the negociations. Our extraordinary successes had raised a proportionable expectation, and inspired the minds of the people with very high demands: and they were mostly of opinion, that it would be more for the interest of the nation to continue the war, than to grant them such terms, as might feed their ambition, and restore them to a condition of raising fresh troubles.

This made the ministry proceed more deliberately, and more wary how they parted with any of the acquisitions on which the people had set their affections.

A. D.
1761.

Besides, they began to see through the artifice of the exclusion of the interest of our allies, from this separate treaty between England and France; and were convinced, that whatever turn it might serve at present, the affairs in Germany must necessarily have an influence on the final determination of the treaty; considering that it would appear shocking to all Europe, if solely attentive to our own peculiar advantages, we should patch up a peace without any provision in favour of our allies, whose affairs were only not ruined. Therefore as it was impracticable to make a proper provision for them, in the situation in which the last campaign left them, unless purchased at a price, that would be grudged very much by the English subjects; it was resolved to push the war with the utmost vigour, and in the mean time not to hurry the negociation; in hopes to meet with such further success, as might enable them to purchase peace for our allies, out of new acquisitions, without being obliged to have recourse to conquests previous to the commencement of the treaty in hand.

Measures
resolved on
by the
English,

Such were the equivocal dispositions, and mixture of hostile and pacific measures at the beginning of the year 1761; and in conformity to which we are to account for the vigorous motions of the allied army in the depth of winter; to dis-

A winter
campaign
in Ger-
many.

A. D.
1761.

Situation
of the
French
armies.

lodge, or at least to deprive the French army, under M. Duke de Broglie, from reaping any advantage by his present situation.

The French were in full and quiet possession of Hesse, with several well fortified places and immense magazines in the front of their winter cantonments. Their left commanded the banks of the Rhine, and streightened the allies; and by a strong garrison in Gottingen, on their right, they shut the allies up on that side, whilst the King's German dominions lay entirely exposed to their enterprizes. By these positions the French army formed an immense crescent; whose two advanced posts were Gottingen and Wesel, and the body extended in Hesse, with proper communications necessary for their current subsistence, strong places in their rear, and in both their flanks. So that, in the next campaign, they by only advancing their several posts, could inclose the allied army, whose numbers and situation would be scarce able to make any stand against them; and the longer Prince Ferdinand remained in this condition, his danger would increase. Which, added to the instructions he received from England, put him upon the trial of a winter campaign.

Prince Fer-
dinand
takes the
field.

His serene Highness had made it his observation, That the French soldiers were no ways equal to his own for winter operations; therefore he resolved to take the field in the most rigorous part of the season, and to act with vigour. For this end he appointed the army to assemble at three places

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places of rendezvous on the Dymel, the Rhine, and in Saverland; which was done, according to his orders, on the 9th of February, and without loss of time. Prince Ferdinand went the same day to Giefmar, where Lieutenant-General Gilsac had marched, with the corps under his orders. The troops halted at Giefmar, and the dispositions for the motions of the whole, were communicated to the generals. The alarm was to be as sudden, and diffused as wide as possible. On the 11th the army marched off in four columns by way of Warbourg, Liebenau, Sielen and Dringelbourg, and each column was preceded by a vanguard, composed of the piquets, which were formed into battalions and squadrons, for securing the head of their cantonments. The center was led by his Serene Highness in person, which penetrated directly into Hesse, and made the best of its way by Zierenberg and Durenberg towards Cassel. His right and left were each at a very considerable distance from his body; but so disposed as to be able to co-operate in the general plan of this extensive operation. The Hereditary Prince commanded on the right; who marched by Stadbergen for Mengeringhausen; so that leaving the country of Hesse to the eastward, he pushed forward, with the utmost expedition, into the heart of the French quarters; while General Sporcken, with Killmansege's and Wangenheim's corps united, marched to the left, and penetrated

* He took 100 prisoners at Cuffleberg.

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as far as Dingelstadt, by the way of Duderstadt and Heiligenstadt, in order to break the communication between the French and Imperialists, to open a communication between the Prussians and allies, and to cut off all intercourse between Gottingen and the French grand army.

Its effects.

This sudden, extensive and vigorous attack threw the French into confusion. It struck them with such a panic that they retreated, or rather fled on every side. The very army, which had closed the campaign a few weeks ago with so great advantage, and had formed a chain, with which they did not doubt to surround the allies, early in the spring, was forced to disperse, and to place their security in a precipitate retreat into places of strength: for, it is evident by all circumstances, that they must have been totally destroyed, had the French quarters been cantoned in an open country.

The vanguards, or piquets, of the four columns being rejoined on the 12th, and augmented with some cavalry, the Marquis of Granby was appointed to command that corps, and he fixed it at Ehlen. As for the enemy, they were obliged to leave Cassel and Gottingen at their backs. The former with a garrison equal to a moderate army, and a garrison of near 8000 men in the latter: besides Fitzlar, Ziegenhayn and Marburg, places of considerable strength, and other posts of less force.

The Hereditary Prince cantoned his corps about Zuschen, which was the most advanced post, and receiving

receiving advice that Fitzlar was not prepared for an attack, he went immediately ^{A. D. 1761.} thither, with a few battalions, and struck the first blow, in hopes of being able to carry that post by a coup de main. However his Highness had been misinformed; and though he attacked it with great spirit, he was obliged to desist from the attempt, ^{First blow struck by the Hereditary Prince.} and to wait for the arrival of the cannon to reduce it. ^{Unsuccessful attack of Fitzlar.} The like fate attended the attempt upon Marburg on the 13th. General Breidenbach, who had seized a magazine of 40,000 rations at Rosenthal, thought to have surprized Marburg; but the enemy were upon their guard, and gave him such a resolute reception, that he was slain in the attack. At the same time the Marquis of Granby's corps marched to Kirchberg and Metre; and on the 14th, his Lordship making some motions towards Gutersberg, the garrison of 200 men retired into the old castle, but were obliged soon after to surrender. ^{Lord Granby takes Gutersberg.} The same day the Hereditary Prince appeared again before Fitzlar, and ^{Fitzlar surrenders.} had the pleasure to grant the garrison an honourable capitulation, which put him in possession of the fortress, and a large magazine; and obliged the garrison not to serve during the present campaign.

The allied army advanced with such resolution ^{Further advantages.} and expedition, that the French had not time to form, and fell back almost to the Maine. They abandoned post after post, and endeavoured

* On the 12th of February.

▼ On the same conditions granted to Fitzlar.

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to destroy or burn all their magazines, as they retreated. But the allies pursued with such celerity, that they had the good fortune to save five capital stores; in one of which they found 80,000 sacks of meal, 50,000 sacks of oats, and 1,000,000 rations of hay, almost untouched; which proved a very seasonable supply to an army in the situation of the allies.

M. Sporcken's success.

Hitherto every thing had succeeded according to the wishes of Prince Ferdinand; for whilst matters were pushed vigorously in the front, M. Sporcken, commander of the detachment to the left, advanced with such impetuosity and success towards the frontiers of Saxony, that he opened a way for a body of Prussians to join him.

Battle of
Langensaltze.

This junction was effected near Thomas-Spruck upon the Unstrut, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the enemy to prevent it: who depended upon succour, in case of need, from Gottingen on one side, and on the other from the army of the Empire. This necessarily brought on a general action, on the 15th, which was fought at Langensaltze, and proved favourable to the allies. General Sporcken attacked the Saxons with such vigour, that he covered the field with the slain; three whole battalions were made prisoners by the Prussians, and two by the allies; so that their loss was computed at 5000 men. The Prussians also took seven pieces of cannon, and Sporcken six pieces. And this was done with the inconsiderable loss of about 100 men, on the part of the allies and Prussians. The army of the Empire were

were struck with such a panic, at this defeat of the Saxons, that they retired immediately with great speed from the neighbourhood of Gotha. The allies pursued the fugitive Saxons with a very great slaughter, seized upon a very large magazine at Eyseruck; and released 300 prisoners at Fulda.

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The effects of this action were presently felt in the immediate reduction of all the posts, which the French and Saxons quitted, at the approach of the conquerors, as far as Vacha, and the number of deserters both from the French corps, commanded by M. Stainville, and from the Saxon and Imperial armies. But it was not here that the grand object of the Prince's operations lay. Except Cassel could be reduced, it was impossible for his Serene Highness to maintain his ground: and the French had left seventeen battalions, besides some other corps, under the Count de Broglie, to defend it. Nevertheless it was determined to try the fortune of arms, and to execute this attempt with the utmost caution and expedition.

The fortifications consisted of very high and strong walls, in the antique stile; but some new works were added; and the commandant was resolved to defend the city to the last extremity. Prince Ferdinand proceeded with such measures as might clear the adjacent country of the enemy, and to cut off all communication between the garrison and the main body of the French army; and having driven M. Broglie quite out of Hesse, as far as Franckfort, he so managed his troops, that they formed

Cassel besieged.

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the blockade of Marburg and Ziegenhayn, and a chain of cantonments, with a front towards the enemy, that extended from the Lahn to the Ohre, and thence to the Fulda; by which he was in a condition to watch the motions of Marshal Broglie, to cover the siege of Cassel, and to block up two fortresses.

Trenches
opened.

Trenches were opened, on the first of March, before Cassel, and the necessary preparations had been committed to the care of the Count La Lippe Schaumberg, a sovereign Prince of the Empire, and reputed one of the ablest engineers in Europe. Cassel was too important an object to be neglected by the French marshal. Its loss would be certainly followed by the fall of Göttingen; and the loss of two such garrisons would be more severely felt than of a great battle. This obliged M. Broglie to collect his forces, and to recall the large detachment toward the close of the last campaign. This composed an army too powerful to be resisted, or kept in awe by part only of the allied army, which was necessitated to divide itself into many parts, to combat a great number of objects of a very arduous nature, at one and the same time. So that, in a little time, Prince Ferdinand found himself situate between three strong posts of the enemy on his rear, and their grand army perfectly united in his front. However, this alone did not discourage the Prince; he called in M. Sporcken's body, which had performed all the service in their power on the left, his communication or retreat, by the way he had advanced,

advanced, being cut off by Count de Vaux, commander in chief in Gottingen.

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M. Duke de Broglie, reinforced by all the detachments expected from the Lower Rhine, marched without delay in quest of the allies; and on the 21st of March, at half an hour past three in the afternoon, he caused the troops under the Hereditary Prince to be attacked, near the village of Stangerode, by a corps under the command of Baron Clofen, major-general, in their retreat from Heimbach, just as they were entering a defile near Gunberg. Baron Clofen began the attack with the dragoons; the first shock of which broke the allied infantry, consisting of nine regiments of Hanoverians, Hessians and Brunswickers; and the French pushed them with such success, that they entirely routed the Hereditary Prince, and took 2000 of his men, with very little slaughter; eighteen pair of colours, one standard and twelve pieces of cannon. Amongst the slain was Major-General M. de Rhede. The French, in this action, had so great advantage of ground, that they performed this service with the small loss of about 100 men killed and wounded. Amongst the killed were two captains of dragoons, and one captain of St. Victor's volunteers, and the Baron Clofen was slightly wounded in his arm with a musket-ball.

M. Broglie
marches to
its relief.

Defeats the
Hereditary
Prince.

Loss,

It not being in the power of the allies to resist the enemy's superior force, after this unfortunate affair, the siege of Ziegenhayn was raised, not without considerable loss to the allies, who were

Allies re-
tire before
him.

the

A. D. the besiegers, and they deserted, and retired from
1761. all the places they had lately taken possession of :

Siege of till at last the corps, before Cassel, raised the
Cassel rais- siege, and retreated to rejoin the army under
ed. Prince Ferdinand, who soon after encamped be-
 hind the Dymel ; and from thence he returned to
 his head quarters at Newhaus, near Paderborn.

Both ar- By which the allies evacuated the whole country
mies retire of Hesse, and returned to those quarters they had
into winter possessed before these winter operations ; and the
quarters. French were once more possessed of the Landgra-
 vate of Hesse Cassel, of the town of Munden,
 of the city of Gottingen, and of a free passage
 into the Electorate of Hanover ; yet it must be
 acknowledged, that they were greatly hurt by this
 winter expedition of the allied army. For, the
 destruction and loss of their magazines deprived
 M. Broglie of the early opportunity, he would
 otherwise have had, to execute his orders against
 Hanover, before the allies could have been rein-
 forced sufficiently to dispute the field : but this
 check disabled him to act with any effect till the
 season was well advanced ; this affair having
 stretched to the end of March ; when both parties
 were content, for some time after, to lie quiet in
 their winter-quarters.

Expedition Much about this time, that large armament,
against which had been suffered to be equipped, but re-
Bellisle. tarded by the enemies of the patriot minister's
 bold measures, till it was too late for the service
 originally intended ; was dispatched to reduce the
 Isle of Bellisle in the Bay of Biscay on the French
 coast,

coast, as the best satisfaction, that a minister could give to the public, for the immense sum such an armament had cost the nation, and for the disappointment of their expectations, when his influence in the state declined every day, and the attention at court was chiefly engaged to form bottoms, procure parties, make connections, bustle for places, &c.⁷

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The parliament was dissolved, and new writs, bearing teste on the 21st of March, were issued out for calling another. The Right Honourable Mr. Legge, whose abilities and integrity had gained him the esteem of his country in a high degree, so as to join him, on every occasion of public regard, with the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT, was dismissed (for, he could not be prevailed upon to resign) from his office of Chancellor of the Exchequer², because he disapproved of the proceedings and disposition of the new cabinet, to make room for William Viscount Barrington. A few days after the Right Honourable John Earl of Bute, lately made Groom of the Stole, was appointed one of his Majesty's principal

Parliament
dissolved.

Mr. Legge
dismissed.

Lord Bute
Secretary
of State.

⁷ The Right Honourable Edward Boscawen, a Lord of the Admiralty, Admiral of the Blue, General of the Marines, &c. died of a fever on the 10th of January 1761.

² The account published of the said Right Honourable Gentleman, since his death, gives the reason for the dislike taken to him. This account having related, that Mr. Legge

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H

had,

A. D. principal Secretaries of State, in the room of Lord
 1761. Holderness, dismissed with a considerable pension.
 Hence-

had, in his younger years, been designed for the service of his country in the royal navy, and had quitted it after one or two voyages, because that service at that time was inactive: That he was afterwards Secretary to Sir *Robert Walpole*; and after some years was chosen a Representative in Parliament; and did successively pass through the several offices of Secretary to the Treasury, and to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; was promoted to be one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty; Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of *Berlin*; Treasurer of the Navy; Chancellor and Under-treasurer of the Exchequer, and one of the Commissioners of the Treasury: it sets forth, That, “ with a penetrating apprehension, and a
 “ memory remarkably tenacious of substantial knowledge, he
 “ had a judgment so clear and sound, that it seems hardly
 “ possible for any human mind, to be more accurate, unem-
 “ barassed and comprehensive of all the ideas related to the
 “ subject before him, as well as of all the consequences,
 “ which follow from comparing them: That during the time
 “ he served the Crown, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he
 “ executed, without the power of a Minister, and without
 “ any loss of popularity, the most unpopular, though at that
 “ time necessary work, of raising more supplies, than had
 “ ever been raised, within the same number of years, pre-
 “ serving both his own, and, in some degree, the credit of
 “ the government, by neither pretending, nor promising more
 “ than he could, with the strictest regard to truth; and as he
 “ valued his honour more than any other consideration, he
 “ was anxiously desirous the world should know, when he
 “ was dead, that he was not turned out of his office for any
 “ blemish in his private or public character.”

For this purpose he desired it might be published, That hav-
 ing a disagreeable contest with his competitor Mr. afterwards

Sir

Henceforward we look upon his Lordship to be joint pilot with Mr. PITT, at the helm of administration,

A. D.
1761.

Sir *Simeon Stuart*, for the county of *Southampton*, Mr. *Stuart*, though his interest was adopted by a noble Lord, thought proper to resign, after the county had been canvassed on both sides: and Mr. *Legge* received a letter from L. M. signifying that Lord *Bute* had prevailed upon Mr. *Stuart* to decline the poll in his favour, assuring him at the same time, "That neither he, nor the greater person, whose name had been used during the competition, would ever treat him with the more coldness for what had happened. But however, that Lord B. expected, as he had a claim upon him in right of friendship, that Mr. *Legge* would concur with him, and give his aid to the person his Lordship should recommend at a future election."

Mr. *Legge* wrote for answer, "That he did not think any consultation would have been held about dropping the affair, if all the money subscribed against him, and more, had not been expended, and all probability of carrying the point intirely vanished." As for lending Mr. *Stuart* his future aid, Mr. *Legge* writes, "If the prevailing party in this county will receive him without opposition, I shall be very well satisfied and glad of it. But if the Whiggs and Dissenters, who are very numerous in this county, will make a point of opposing him, it will be impossible for me to declare for him, and abandon those who have supported me, to take part with those, against whom they have supported me. This would not only put my own election in jeopardy, but be so ungrateful and disreputable a part for me to act, that it would in the same proportion make my assistance ineffectual to the person I should join with."

Upon this answer, Mr. *Legge* received a verbal message from Lord B. by Mr. M. Dec. 12, 1759, to this effect, "That he should bid adieu to the county of *Southampton* at the general election, and assist as far as lay in his power the P—— of

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nistraton. It had been hitherto conjectured, and to all outward appearance, it seemed, that there had

“W——’s nomination of two members.” To which message a categorical answer was required. Accordingly Mr. Legge wrote as follows: “Mr. Legge understanding it to be expected, that he (who never had engaged at all in the county of Southampton, if the intentions of L—r H— had been in time communicated to him) shall not only refuse to be chosen himself at the next general election, but assist Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Stuart in opposition to those, who have supported Mr. Legge at the late election, is determined to submit to any consequences, rather than incur so great a disgrace.” Lord B. sent a reply the same day, in which his Lordship “beseeches Mr. Legge to consider very seriously, whether after triumphing over the P——’s inclinations at present, Lord B. has any method left of removing prejudices, that the late unhappy occurrences have strongly impressed the P—— with, than by being enabled to say, that Mr. Legge will, as far as shall be in his power, cooperate with his R—— H——’s wishes at the next general election.”

Mr. Legge replied finally, “Though in fact Mr. Legge has been so unhappy, as to find himself opposed to the P—— of W——’s inclinations, yet as to intention Mr. Legge feels himself intirely blameless; and has too high a veneration for the P—— of W——’s justice, to think he will conceive lasting prejudices against any man, for resisting those inclinations, of which he was totally ignorant. As Mr. Legge flatters himself this consideration will induce the P—— of W—— to forgive his entering into engagements with the county of Southampton, he is certain, that his R—— H—— will not condemn his adhering to those engagements, when entered into.

“God forbid Mr. Legge should be suspected of triumphing over the P—— of W——’s inclinations! The contrary

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
BY
JOSEPH NEALE
OF THE BOSTON BAR
IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. I.
BOSTON: PUBLISHED BY
JOSEPH NEALE, AT THE
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CORNER OF NASSAU AND
STATE STREETS.
1846.



ADMIRAL KEPPEL.

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had been a good understanding between my Lord and Mr. PITT. But all men are not the same persons in power, as when out of power. The management of public affairs being thus divided between two heads, it was soon observed, that parties were formed, and that the public business, which had been carried on with vigour by one minister, loitered and received a considerable check by the appointment of two, partners in the administration.

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“ tary was so much his intention, that from the moment he discovered, which way those inclinations lay, there was no endeavour he did not use, to avoid the dispute with honour ; nor did Mr. Legge exert himself, either in point of expence or personal application, till all compromise being rejected, he had no other part left to act.

“ Mr. Legge is obliged to Lord B. for the friendship he expresses towards him. Surely his Lordship cannot doubt but that Mr. Legge should be extremely glad, if he could find himself in such a situation, as would permit him to have the honour of obeying the P—— of W——’s commands, and seconding his wishes, without breaking the faith he has openly and publicly pledged to the county of Southampton. This if he were to do, he should forfeit all title to the P—— of W——’s countenance and protection, as certainly, as he knows he should forfeit his R—— H——’s private good opinion.”

Here the correspondence ended. What was the consequence ? His late Majesty died the year following ; and at the end of the first sessions of Parliament after his present Majesty’s accession, Mr. Legge was dismissed, or as he chose to express it, *Turned out*, after having served the crown and the public, in his department, during that session, with his usual ability and fidelity.

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The complexion of this alteration, in the direction of the national affairs, was soon discovered not only in the conduct of the court of London, towards our good, faithful and natural protestant ally the King of Prussia; for, instead of supporting his Prussian Majesty, according to the wishes of the good people of England, and his Majesty's desire, no treaty was renewed; no subsidy was paid, as observed before*, to put his troops in motion: but in the spirit of the war, which declined fast from its meridian of glory; and the opposition to a wise and vigilant administration grew stronger day by day. A number of new Peers were created, which additional weight in the aristocratic part of government, could not be looked upon by the people without apprehensions: and with the new-admitted servants of the public, a certain species of low cunning and undermining craft stole slyly into many places.

Expedition
against
Belleisle.

Belleisle was the first object of our arms at sea, after this æra. A fortuitous event, so far, as it was grafted upon the disappointment of some other more important expedition. But this enterprize is not to be held in derision. This island, by its situation, was capable of being made the key of all the French coast, in the Bay of Biscay; to interrupt their navigation both for commerce and war; and to favour any attempt, which, at any time, might be made with success upon the Gallic

* See page 94. Vol. V.

shore^b. Besides, the appearance of this armament on that coast might have had a considerable influence on the operations beyond the Rhine, had it been carried sooner into execution.

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The

^b Belleisle is the largest of all the European islands belonging to the French King, between 12 and 13 leagues in circumference. The middle of it lies in 47 deg. 20 m. north and 3 deg. 10 m. west, of London.

The climate is so moderate, that all the cattle winter in the fields; and the fertility of the soil is so remarkable, that, in the memory of man, no harvest ever failed. The inhabitants manure the soil plentifully with a kind of weed, called Goefmon, which the sea throws out in great plenty upon the shore, which fattens and improves it more than any other manure, and costs only the trouble of gathering it.

The island originally belonged to the Earl of Cornouaille, but has been since yielded to the King: it contains only one little city, called La Palais, three country towns, 103 villages, and about 5000 inhabitants.

The town of Palais takes its name from a castle, belonging to the Marquis de Belleisle, in its neighbourhood, which is now converted into a citadel, and the French King keeps a strong garrison in it. There are here two magazines; one, which is called the higher magazine, has two floors, and serves as a granary for the corn belonging to the proprietor of the island; the lower buildings are employed for pressing and salting pilchards, and consist of a long row of low buildings, standing upon the sands near the shore. At the mouth of the harbour there is a jette, or pier, of cut stone, about 30 feet in breadth, and 200 feet in length. There are in the island three harbours; the two first, which are those of Palais and Sauzon, lie on the N. and N. W. parts of the island, from the Point des Poulains to that of Locmaria; the third, called Goulford, is on the south-side. In the two first are the lesser

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The of-
ficers and
strength.

The conduct of this expedition was committed to Major-General Hodgson by land, and the Honourable Commodore Keppel by sea. The squadron consisted of the Sandwich, 90 guns; the Valiant, Temeraire, Torbay, Dragon, and Swiftsure, 74 guns each; the Prince of Orange, 70 guns;

and larger boats employed in the pilchard fishery, which is the only branch of trade cultivated in the island.

Every one, who is the least acquainted with maritime affairs, is sensible of the great advantages that would accrue to trade from a harbour in this island, capable of receiving ships of burden; because it is, in effect, the first land made by vessels coming from the East and West-Indies, that are designed for the western ports of France, and sailors prefer it to all others, on account of the ease, with which they can discover it at the distance of thirty or forty leagues, as also because the coast of it is very healthy. Those ships that touch at this island lie in the road of Palais, where they have the best anchoring road; but they are not willing to run this hazard in bad weather, because they always find there a high sea, which, together with the violence of the winds, often renders it impossible for the boats and sloops to come out, and give them the assistance they may want: besides, if the wind happens to blow fresh from the N. or N. E. they are obliged to get out to sea, or run the hazard of being driven upon the coast.

The walls of the citadel, which stands upon a rock, contribute much to form the mouth of the harbour; but it is so far from being large enough for admitting vessels of considerable burden, that sloops of twelve or fifteen tons cannot enter it, except at full sea; and these are dry at low water. The harbour of Sauzon seems to be more capable of improvement; for, though it cannot admit vessels of above forty or fifty tons burden, and these are also dry at low water, yet it is surrounded with very high hills, which secure it from all winds.

Goulford

guns; the Hampton-Court and Essex, 64 guns each; the Achilles, 60 guns; and several frigates, fire-ships and bombs, with upwards of 100 transports, having on board 9000^c soldiers, and train of artillery.

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These sailed from Spithead on the 29th of March, in three divisions, commanded by Commodore Keppel, Sir Thomas Stanhope and Captain Barton. And by Brigadiers Crawford, Rufane and Howe, under General Hodgson. It was from that time to the 6th of April, before the wind came to the west, to enable the fleet to steer in with the coast of France. The commodore detached six frigates, that same evening, in hopes they might station themselves in such a manner as to cut off the enemy's communication with the continent. Next morning the whole fleet passed the south end of Belleisle, close along shore; and the commanders in chief thought that a descent might have been tried at one of the bays by Point

Goulford, the third harbour, and the only one that lies on the south side of the island, is unknown to most sailors, though it is capable of admitting fifty gun ships every tide; because the entrance into it is so dangerous, on account of rocks, that they who know it best will scarce attempt to enter it, except in desperate cases, when there is no other visible means of avoiding shipwreck. It has this further disadvantage, that it is not quite covered from south winds, which are the most dangerous and most violent on that coast.

^c Regiments: Whitmore's, Beauclerk's, Scotch fuzileers, Loudon's, Gray's, Erskine's, Colvill's, Rufane's, Crauford's, first battalion of Morgan's, and Pultney's fifteen independent companies, and three companies of the train of artillery; in all 9000 men.

Loc-

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Fleet ar-
rives in the
great road
of Belle-
isle.

Locmaria; but the wind being southerly, it could not be attempted at that time: so that they came to an anchor in the great road of Belleisle on the 7th of April, about twelve o'clock at noon. The general and commodore proceeded, without delay, to take a view of the coast, and to fix upon a proper place to make a descent. They agreed upon the port of St. Andro for that purpose; and ordered a feint, at the same time, to be made at Sauzon, with some of his Majesty's ships, under the command of Sir Thomas Stanhope, and the transports with Stuart's and Grey's battalions and marines on board. Every thing was got ready against next morning early. Three ships, with two bomb-vessels, were ordered to proceed down the Point of Locmaria, at the south-east part of the island, and attack the fort and other works in the sandy bay round that point. The soldiers then embarked in the flat-bottomed boats, and the Achilles, by order, having silenced a four gun battery, which commanded the entrance of the bay, they pushed to the landing, in divisions, with great briskness and spirited behaviour. But when the boats entered the bay, they found the enemy so strongly entrenched on each side of a hill, excessively steep, and the foot of it scraped away, that it was impracticable to get up to the breast-work, after several efforts^a, to force the enemy from their lines. About 260 landed, under the

^a In which Brigadier Carleton was wounded in the thigh.
com-

command of Major Purcel and Captain Osborne, A. D. 1761.
 who were thrown into confusion by a severe fire, Repulsed.
 which put an end to the lives of both these and
 several other brave officers. Sixty of Erskine's
 grenadiers got up, and formed on the top of the
 hill, but could not maintain their post against a
 numerous army: so that they were all cut off, but
 twenty, who escaped down the rocks to the boats.
 This made it adviseable to desist, and to seek out
 a more convenient place*. The retreat was made
 with a very inconsiderable loss†, under the cover
 of a brisk fire from the ships. But a gale of
 wind coming on very quick, after the retiring
 from the shore, did much damage to anchors and
 cables, and staved or overset twenty flat boats.

This check did not so discourage the com- Reinforce-
ed.
 manders, as to make them desert the service on
 which they were sent. They were determined to
 land at some place: and upon the news of the
 loss sustained on this occasion, Lord Robert Man-
 ners's regiment was ordered to sail from Plymouth,
 with the remainder of Crauford's, to reinforce the
 army. The damage received, on this first at- Descent re-
newed.
 tempt, being repaired, as well as possible, and
 every foot of the coast of the island strictly re-

* General Hodgson represents, That the whole island is a
 fortification, and that the liitle nature had left undone to make
 it such, had been amply supplied by art; the enemy having
 been at work upon it ever since Sir Edward Hawke appeared
 before it last winter.

† About 500 killed, wounded and missing. Fifteen seamen
 killed and fifty wounded.

connoitred,

A. D. 1761. connoitred, the 22d was the day resolved upon to renew the attempt, which was conducted with that judgment and vigour, in so many places at once, where there was the least hopes of success, that the enemy's attention was distracted. In this confusion a corps, under Brigadier Lambert, charged with this particular duty, seized the opportunity, and climbed up a rock, near Point Locmaria, whose difficult ascent had made the enemy least attentive to that part. This brave and desperate service was performed by Beauclerk's grenadiers, with their Captain Patterson, who had got up, before discovered; but were immediately attacked by three hundred men. They maintained their ground till the rest of Lambert's grenadiers got up by the same difficult way, when the Frenchmen, after some firing, retired before the bayonets of our grenadiers, with such precipitation that they left three brass field-pieces, and some of their wounded men. Captain Patterson lost his arm in this action; there were about thirty of our men killed, and a considerable number were wounded, amongst whom were Colonel Mackenzie and Captain Murray of the marines, who climbed the precipice with astonishing intrepidity, and were no wise behind the regulars in valour and activity.

Its difficulty.

Damage in the attempt.

Army all landed.

The whole army being now landed, the French commander, Mons. de St. Croix, ordered all his out-posts to repair to a camp under the walls of Palais, where, being joined also by 4000 of the militia

militia of the island, fit for service, he prepared
 for a vigorous defence. The English formed into
 columns, and followed him as near as possible.
 But the artillery, and other implements for a
 siege, not being landed, and the weather and sea
 being too tempestuous for sending them a-shore,
 General Hodgson had the mortification to look
 on, while Mons. de St. Croix had time to erect
 six redoubts, which the enemy finished with ad-
 mirable skill, to defend the avenues of the city.
 However, the general detached some light horse,
 to take post at Sauzon, and a corps of infantry
 took post at the village of Bordilla, where they
 were ordered to cast up an entrenchment; but
 were dislodged by a party of the enemy's grena-
 diers. Nevertheless the whole army entrenched
 itself in the neighbourhood, till they could be
 supplied with artillery to proceed with the siege;
 and a manifesto was dispersed, to assure the in-
 habitants, that if they would put themselves un-
 der the protection of his Britannic Majesty, they
 should be indulged with their civil and religious
 rights and privileges: which produced an imme-
 diate good effect amongst the natives. General
 Hodgson then summoned the French commander
 to surrender. But he, being encamped under the
 guns of the citadel, answered with a resolution to
 defend the place to the last extremity; and con-
 trived and performed every thing agreeable to that
 resolution, that could be expected from a gallant
 officer, well experienced in military operations.

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1761.

Without
artillery.

French re-
tire to Pa-
lais, and
prepare for
a defence.

English
army en-
trenched.

Manifesto
published.

Governor
summoned.

As

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1761.

Siege be-
gun.

Sally made
with suc-
cess.

As soon as the army had received some mortars, the enemy decamped, and retired within the walls.

It was the 2d of May before the besiegers were in a condition to break ground: and the enemy, next night, attacked the trenches with such vigour that the piquets on the left were thrown into confusion; and though Major General Crauford, who commanded in the trenches, performed all that a great officer in his circumstances could be expected to do; their works were destroyed, several hundreds of the men were killed, and General Crauford and his two aids-de-camp were made prisoners. The piquets upon the right were prepared to give them a warm reception: but the enemy retreated with the success above-mentioned: and the damage was not so great but to be repaired next day. A redoubt was also begun near the right of the works, to cover them from such another surprize.

Vigour of
the siege,
and de-
fence.

From this time the siege was carried on with the utmost vigour, and the besieged gave continual proofs of their courage and abilities, by their uninterrupted fire and many well planned sallies,

An assault.

which cost many men on both sides. On the 13th the General ordered the French redoubts to be attacked, which were the grand obstacles to his operations. This attack began at day break, with four pieces of cannon and thirty cohorns, which poured a most terrible fire into the redoubt on the right of the enemy's flank; and opened a way for a detachment of marines, sustained by part of Loudon's

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1761.

Loudon's regiment, to the parapet, who drove the French from the works with bayonets fixed, and got possession of the post. The other redoubts were all successively reduced in the same manner, and by the same detachment, only reinforced by Colville's regiment, under the command of Colonel Teesdale and Major Nesbit, who drove the enemy, with a great slaughter, to seek shelter in the citadel; which was done with such precipitation by the enemy, and ardour of our troops, that the English entered the gates of Palais pell-mell with the French, got possession of the town, made many prisoners, and released the English that had been made prisoners during this siege.

English
enter the
town pell-
mell.

The citadel of Palais is very strong both by art and nature: and the French commander was determined to defend it to the last extremity.

Enemy re-
tire into
the citadel.

General Hodgson, on his part, was resolved to execute his commission with the greatest punctuality.

Besieged.

Parallels were finished, barricadoes made, batteries were constructed, and a fire from his mortars and artillery was incessantly kept up and well served for 13 days and nights: which was as well returned by the besieged, till the 25th of May, when their fire began to abate. This long and resolute resistance, added to the scarcity of provisions, to be found upon the island, occasioned by the precautions taken to remove all means of subsistence, before the English landed, rendered the situation of our army very disagreeable, who were forced to live mostly upon salt provisions, having

Gallant
defence.

no

A. D. 1761. no supply of live cattle, but such as were sent them from England. But their operations continued with equal ardour; and a breach was made in the citadel by the end of May; and though the enemy were indefatigable in their endeavours to repair the damages, their defences were daily ruined more and more, and a practicable breach was effected by the 7th day of June: which at length dispirited the garrison: and the governor despairing of relief from the main, while the coast was in the power of an English fleet, and dreading the consequences of a general assault, he prudently resolved to save the remains of his brave garrison, by an honourable capitulation^z.

Breach
made.

Capitula-
tion.

The

^z *Capitulation for the citadel of Belleisle, made June 7, 1761.*

Preliminary article. The Chevalier de St. Croix, brigadier in the King's army, and commandant of the citadel of Belleisle, proposes that the place shall surrender on the 12th of June, in case no succours arrive before that time; and that, in the mean while, no works should be carried on, on either side, nor any act of hostility, nor any communication between the English besieging, and the French besieged.

"Refused."

Art. I. The entire garrison shall march through the breach with the honours of war, drums beating, colours flying, lighted matches, and three pieces of cannon, with 12 rounds each. Each soldier shall have 15 rounds in his cartouch-box. All the officers, serjeants, soldiers, and inhabitants, are to carry off their baggage: The women to go with their husbands.

"Granted, in favour of the gallant defence, which the citadel has made, under the orders of the Chevalier de St. Croix."

Art. II.

The reduction of this island, which had in vain been attempted in former reigns, was looked upon

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1761.

as Remarks
on the im-
portance of
this con-
quest.

Art. II. Two covered waggons shall be provided, and the effects which they carry shall be deposited in two covered boats, which are not to be visited.

"The covered waggons are refused; but care shall be taken to transport all the baggage to the continent by the shortest way."

Art. III. Vessels shall be furnished for carrying the French troops by the shortest way into the nearest ports of France, by the first fair wind.

"Granted."

Art. IV. The French troops that are to embark are to be victualled in the same proportion with the troops of his Britannic Majesty; and the same proportion of tonnage is to be allowed to the officers and soldiers which the English troops have.

"Granted."

Art. V. When the troops shall be embarked, a vessel is to be furnished for the Chevalier de St. Croix, brigadier in the King's army, to M. de la Ville the King's lieutenant, to M. de la Carique, colonel of the foot, with brevet of commandant in the absence of the Chevalier de St. Croix, and to the field officers, including those of the artillery, and engineers; as also for the three pieces of cannon; as well as for the soldiers of the Cour Royale; to be transported to Nantz, with their wives, servants, and the baggage which they have in the citadel, which is not to be visited. They are to be victualled in the same proportion with the English officers of the same rank.

"Care shall be taken that all those who are mentioned in this article shall be transported, without loss of time, to Nantz, with their baggage and effects, as well as the three pieces of cannon, granted by the first article."

Art. VI. After the expiration of the term mentioned in the first article, a gate of the citadel shall be delivered up to the troops of his Britannic Majesty; at which there shall be kept

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as a happy omen of a vigorous pursuit of those measures, to which we ascribed, under heaven, all our

a French guard of equal number, until the King's troops shall march out to embark. Those guards shall be ordered to permit no English soldier to enter, nor no French soldier to go out.

"A gate shall be delivered to the troops of his Britannic Majesty, the moment the capitulation is signed: and an equal number of French troops shall occupy the same gate."

Art. VII. A Vessel shall be furnished to the commissaries of war, and to the treasurer, in which they may carry their baggage, with their secretaries, clerks, and servants, without being molested or visited. They shall be conducted, as well as the other troops, to the nearest port of France.

"Granted."

Art. VIII. Mess. de Taille, captain general of the garde coste, Lamp, Major, two lieutenants of cannoneers of the garde coste, and 90 bombardeers, cannoneers, serjeants, and fusileers, gardes costes of Belleisle, paid by the King, shall have it in their choice to remain in the island, as well as all the other inhabitants, without being molested, either as to their persons or goods. And if they have a mind to sell their goods, furniture, boats, nets, and in general any effects which belong to them, within six months, and to pass over to the continent, they shall not be hindered; but, on the contrary, they shall have proper assistance, and the necessary passports.

"They shall remain in the island under protection of the King of Great Britain, as the other inhabitants, or shall be transported to the continent, if they please, with the garrison."

Art. IX. M. Serignon, clerk of the treasury of the French troops, the armourer, the Bourgeois cannoneers, the store-keepers, and all the workmen belonging to the engineers, may remain at Belleisle with their families, or go to the continent with the same privileges as above-mentioned.

"Granted. To remain in the island, upon the same footing with the other inhabitants, or to be transported with the garrison to the continent, as they shall think proper."

Art. X.

our successes in this war; as may be collected from the address of the citizens of London, on that occasion;

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1761.

Art. X. The Roman Catholic religion shall be exercised in the island with the same freedom as under a French government. The churches shall be preserved, and the rectors and other priests continued: and, in case of death, they shall be replaced by the bishop of Vannes. They shall be maintained in their functions, privileges, immunities, and revenues.

“All the inhabitants, without distinction, shall enjoy the free exercise of their religion. The other part of this article must necessarily depend on the pleasure of his Britannic Majesty.”

Art. XI. The officers and soldiers who are in the hospitals of the town and citadel, shall be treated in the same manner as the garrison; and, after their recovery, they shall be furnished with vessels to carry them to France. In the mean while, they shall be supplied with subsistence and remedies till their departure, according to the state which the comptroller and surgeons shall give in.

“Granted.”

Art. XII. After the term mentioned in the preliminary article is expired, orders shall be given, that the commissaries of artillery, engineers, and provisions, shall make an inventory of what shall be found in the King's magazines, out of which bread, wine, and meat shall be furnished to subsist the French troops to the moment of their departure.

“They shall be furnished with necessary subsistence till their departure, on the same footing with the troops of his Britannic Majesty.”

Art. XIII. Major General Crauford, as well as all the English officers and soldiers, who have been made prisoners since the 8th of April 1761, inclusive, shall be set at liberty after the signing of the capitulation; and shall be disengaged from their parole. The French officers of different ranks, volunteers, serjeants and soldiers, who have been made prisoners since the 8th of April, shall also be set at liberty.

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casion; wherein they express their joy and exultation, on the entire reduction of the important island of

"The English officers and soldiers, prisoners of war in the citadel, are to be free the moment the capitulation is signed: the French officers and soldiers, who are prisoners of war, shall be exchanged according to the cartel of Sluys."

All the above articles shall be executed faithfully on both sides, and such as may be doubtful shall be fairly interpreted.

"Granted."

After the signature, hostages shall be sent on both sides for the security of the articles of the capitulation.

"Granted."

"All the archives, registers, public papers, and writings, which have any relation to the government of this island, shall be faithfully delivered up to his Britannic Majesty's commissary: two days shall be allowed for the evacuation of the citadel; and the transports necessary for the embarkation, shall be ready to receive the garrison and their effects. A French officer shall be ordered to deliver up all the warlike stores and provisions; and, in general, every thing which belongs to his most Christian Majesty, to an English commissary appointed for that purpose. And an officer shall be ordered to shew us all the mines and fountains of the place."

S. HODGSON.

A. KEPPEL.

LE CHEV. DE ST. CROIX.

List of the officers killed, wounded, and prisoners, at Belleisle, to June 4, 1761.

Killed. Captain Sir W. Peer Williams, of Burgoyne's light horse.—Lieutenant Stone, of Lord Panmure's regiment of foot.—Lieutenant Whittle, of the second battalion of Rufane's.—Lieutenant Morson, of Major-General Crauford's light infantry.

Wounded. Brigadier How, Lieutenant Chute, of Lieutenant-General Whitmore's regiment of foot.—Captain Patterson, Lieutenant Hutchinson, of Lord George Beuclerk's

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of Belleisle, by the conduct, intrepidity, and perseverance, of his Majesty's land and naval forces. A conquest, which after more than one fruitless attempt in former times, seemed to have been reserved by divine Providence to grace the auspicious beginning of his present Majesty's reign. And at the same time they approved of, they could not help expressing their fears of a too great propensity towards peace, where they add, "And this conquest confirms our hopes of a long continuance of wise, steady, and successful measures. A blow so humiliating to the pride and power of France, cannot but impress that haughty nation with the due sense of the superiority of a patriot King, ruling over a free, brave, and united people, and convince them of the danger of delaying to accept such terms of peace, as his Majesty's equity, wisdom and moderation, should think fit to prescribe."

How would the nation have rejoiced, had Mr. PITT's plan against Martinico been suffered to

regiment of foot.—Lieutenant Henry Norton Ivers, of the Earl of Loudon's ditto.—Major Nesbit, Captain Faulkner, Lieutenant Bromhead, Lieutenant Young, of Major-General Colvill's ditto.—Brigadier Desaguliers, Captain Muckle, Lieutenant Kinderfly, Lieutenant M'Kenzie, artillery.—Lieutenant Colonel M'Kenzie, Captain Bell, Captain Murry, Captain Carruthers, Lieutenant Haddon, Lieutenant Conway, Lieutenant Hunt, marines.

Prisoners. Major-General Crauford, Captain Preston, and Lieutenant Bruce, his aids de camp.—Lieutenant Majoribanks, of Lord George Beauclerk's; Captain Gordon, Captain Cope, of Major-General Crauford's light Infantry.

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take effect? which had been long under consideration, and was proposed as the finishing blow to the French trade and power; provided they should not be brought to a due sense of their own weakness by the reduction of Belleisle, and of their danger from the vicinity of their most powerful and triumphant enemy, possessed of a situation that entirely over-awed their coast, and from whence their country might be invaded without difficulty. But while this plan continues under deliberation, we will once more visit Germany, and enquire into the circumstances of the King of Prussia, in a manner, forsaken by England, and still surrounded by his former inveterate enemies.

Affairs in
Silesia,
Saxony,
and Pome-
rania.

Inactive
state of the
belligerent
powers.

The King of Prussia not receiving the encouragement from the British court, which had hitherto enabled him to act with vigour, was obliged to act upon the defensive: and the Austrians, who looked upon this change of conduct in his Prussian Majesty to be only an act of generalship, whereby he was meditating some great and unexpected blow against his enemies, judged it most advisable to remain also on the defensive, to watch his actions. In the mean time, a report prevailing that his Majesty had concluded a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the Ottoman Porte, this greatly irritated the Empresses. But as nothing could more effectually concur to facilitate a pacific negociation between his Majesty, Russia and Austria, and it is probable, such a report contributed greatly to the inactivity of their troops at the beginning of the spring: so this report served only

to sharpen their resentments, when it was found A. D. 1761.
to be a mere deception, to distract their councils,
and to delay their operations.

The state of these belligerents was the more Reasons for it.
critical, as they had not been able, with their ut-
most efforts, last year, to mend their circumstan-
ces, and the loss of a battle on either side might
greatly influence the negotiations at Augsbu rg,
to the prejudice of the conquered. Thus, Prince Situation of their armies.
Henry was ordered to encamp under Leipsic, to
watch the Austrian army in that neighbourhood,
under Count Daun. The King occupied a very
strong camp not far from Schweidnitz, in Upper
Silesia : and General Laudohn was posted with a
numerous army to supervise his motions, and to
wait the approach of the Prussians, in order to
force his Prussian Majesty to a battle, upon very
disadvantageous terms, or to cut off his maga-
zines and places of refuge in the Lower Silesia,
which he had well secured with garrisons.

However the Prussians could not rest without Skir- mishes.
some employ ; their partizans made some sudden
and bold excursions. A corps under two major
generals, advanced from Gera, by the way of
Neustadt on the Orla, as far as Saalfeld, where
they routed an Austrian post, with considerable
loss to the enemy ; and penetrating as far as the
village of Schwatz, a post of importance, pos-
sessed by the Imperialists, they also routed and
drove them from thence. They proceeded into
Voightland, and routed a considerable corps under

A. D. 1761. General Guasco, near Plaune, and took all his baggage and four pieces of cannon.

Motions of
the Rus-
sian

But the grand object, which attracted the King's attention, was the operations of the Russians. They, at last, took the field, and moved in two divisions; one, under M. Tottleben, marched towards Pomerania: the other, led by M. Butterlin, entered the Upper Silesia, and took the rout of Breslau. At the same time M. Laudohn made his dispositions with a manifest design to unite their armies, and either to attack the King, or to take Breslau or Schweidnitz in his presence.

And Gen.
Laudohn.

Their
junction
could not
be pre-
vented.

Breslau
cannon-
aded.

Mis Majesty was not in a condition to prevent the junction of these armies, favoured by the passage of the Oder, which had been made fordable in so many places, by a remarkable dry season, that it was impossible to obstruct their passage over that river. The Russians in possession of the open country, exacted heavy contributions, and detached a body to cannonade Breslau, which they did very severely from seven batteries: but the garrison being reinforced, marched out and obliged the enemy to abandon their batteries, and to decamp with loss. Laudohn tried every stratagem to decoy the King from his impregnable camp. But in vain; neither his motions towards effecting the junction of the two armies, nor his threats to besiege Schweidnitz, nor his motions towards Lower Silesia, could provoke or prevail with the King to march, or to divide his forces. As for the destination of the other Russian division, his Majesty seemed to give himself little concern,
whose

whose leader, M. Tottleben, who was a soldier of fortune, without any national attachment, or particular allegiance, had been gained to his interest by pecuniary arguments. But this correspondence being suspected, Tottleben was removed, and the command given to General Romanzoff, who resumed the siege of Colberg; which the Swedes, this year, had engaged to favour. Accordingly the General undertook the siege in person, with a considerable body of Russians; and a strong fleet sailed from Cronstadt, with an additional number of troops, artillery and warlike stores, to block up the port. This was joined by a Swedish squadron in August, and the motions of the Swedes in Western Pomerania were made to favour the operations of the Russians.

At D.
1761.

Count
Tottleben
removed.

Colberg
besieged.

His Prussian Majesty, depending upon the fidelity of the governor of Colberg, the bravery of the garrison, the inexperience of the enemy, little accustomed to sieges, a corps of six or seven thousand men, commanded by the Prince of Wurtemberg, strongly entrenched under the cannon of the town, and the approaching winter, when the frost he thought would render the approaches impracticable, gave himself little thought about its relief; which security, we shall find, lost him this important post; which was looked upon to be the key of his dominions on the north.

The Russians noticed their entrance into Pomerania about the beginning of June, with a furious attack upon Belgarde. But they were so well received, that they were repulsed with considerable loss, by the vigilance of General Werner: who,

with

Russians
enter Po-
merania,

A. D. with eight battalions of infantry, and 18 squadrons
1761. of horse, made a forced march from Corlin, and
Belgarde drove the enemy from their posts. However,
taken. some of his detachments penetrated as far as the
 frontiers of the New Marche, and got possession
Abandon- of Landsberg. But they soon abandoned their
ed. acquisitions, and retired to the main body of their
 army.

Imperial- This was not the only thing to attract his atten-
ists cor- tion, and to employ his Majesty's endeavours to
rected. encounter. The army of the Empire in Saxony
 shewed a disposition to attack Leipzig: but they
 were so severely chastised for their presumption,
 by a strong detachment of 7000 men, under Ge-
 neral Seydlitz, that they not only retired with pre-
 cipitation, but never ventured afterwards to ap-
 proach the Prussian cantonments.

While all the world seemed to pronounce the de-
 struction of Prussia's King, and he was, in a manner
 chained down by the superior strength of Laudohn
 and Butterlin, the fertility of his genius suggested
 a specious way for his relief, and to disconcert all
 their measures. The Russians depended upon
 their magazines, erected in Poland, and covered
 with another division of their vast army under
 General Fermer, for their subsistence, and to se-
 cure a safe retreat in case of accident. His Prussian
 Majesty, therefore, ordered General Platen to
 attempt the destruction of those magazines: and
 this was performed with extraordinary success.
 The Prussian general, in their march towards the
 frontiers of Poland, intercepted and destroyed 500

Russian
magazines
destroyed.

waggons

waggons, with provisions for the Russian army, and killed, or made prisoners, upwards of 4000 men, that had them under convoy: and he pursued this expedition with such diligence, that he totally ruined three great magazines of the enemy.

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This delivered his Majesty immediately from General Butterlin, who, upon advice of this secret expedition, and the danger, to which the grand magazine at Posen was exposed, withdrew the main body of his army from the Austrians, and hastened back towards Poland, leaving only a large detachment, under General Czernicheff, to co-operate with General Laudohn.

General
Butterlin
separates
from the
Austrians,

His Prussian Majesty was so flushed with the success of this expedition, which recalled the grand army of Russians, that he began to act with less caution, and ventured to quit his strong camp near Schweidnitz, to seek for provisions nearer to the Oder, of which his army stood in need; and at the same time, he drew off 4000 men from the garrison of Schweidnitz, for the safety of which fortress he was in no pain; as, being removed only a very small distance, he was persuaded the enemy would not be able to besiege it, without his receiving timely notice to arrive to its relief. A consideration, which probably was well founded had his Majesty been engaged with a general less capable than Laudohn. But, as Laudohn had through the whole campaign watched him with a most diligent and penetrating assiduity, and hitherto had found no part open and unguarded, he with a courage and sagacity peculiar to himself, seized the oppor-

Over-sight
in the
King of
Prussia.

Laudohn
takes ad-
vantage
thereof.

opport-

A. D.
1761:

Schweid-
nitz taken
by a coup
de main.

opportunity, and resolved to attack Schweidnitz by a *coup de main*.

This was the most valuable place possessed by the Prussians in Silesia. Its situation was central: It was strongly fortified; and his Majesty had deposited here a great quantity of artillery and military stores. The first of October, at three in the morning, was ordered for the execution of this enterprize. A select number of troops were ordered upon this service, who under the cover of a thick fog, got under the walls and even fixed their scaling ladders in four different places, before discovered by the garrison. They scaled the walls in each place at the same time: so that the garrison fired a very few, and were, in a manner, deprived of the use of their cannon. But what compleated their ruin was the explosion of a magazine of powder in one of the outworks, occasioned by the fire of the small arms. By which about 300 Prussians, and as many Austrians, were blown up, and the outworks fell into the hands of the enemy; who having nothing in their way, prepared to assault the body of the place, burst open the gates, and after firing a few shot, they got entire possession of the town at day break: whereby Lieutenant General Zastrow, the governor, and about 3000 men, were made prisoners at discretion, besides the loss of a great quantity of meal and a great number of cannon; with the loss of no more than 600 Austrians; though it cost the Prussians a blockade of some months, and a siege of 13 days open trenches to recover it from the

the Austrians, in the year 1758: which has occasioned some dishonourable reflections on the fidelity of the governor. But there has never appeared any just grounds for such a reflection. Though it is evident, from the King's letter to him on this melancholy occasion, his Majesty could scarce reconcile this conduct with his duty. "We may now say (the King writes) what Francis I. of France wrote to his mother, after the battle of Pavia, *we have lost all except our honour*. As I can't comprehend what has happened to you, I shall suspend my judgment: the thing is very extraordinary."

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1761.

Treachery
suspected.

By this acquisition the Austrians gained such a footing in Silesia, that they obliged the King to retreat towards Breslau, and secured winter quarters for themselves in that province. As to the advices from other parts of his forces, they about this time gave his Majesty some hopes of weathering the tide of adverse fortune. Prince Henry, who was still strongly encamped in the neighbourhood of Meissen, became the next object of the Austrian power. M. Daun recalled a large reinforcement from Laudohn's army, in November, and attacked the Prince: but failed in the attempt. For, tho' he succeeded in carrying some of the Prussian advanced posts, he found it impracticable to force his lines: therefore he retired back to his camp, and distributed his army into cantonments about Dresden, for the winter. His example was followed by the Imperial army, which took up their winter quarters at Naumberg and Zwickaw. And Prince

Import-
ance of this
conquest.

M. Daun
miscarries.

Henry

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Henry was thereby induced to canton his troops as far as Meissen on the right, and to Katzenhausen to the left.

Situation
of the
siege of
Colberg.

From Colberg the intelligence was also favourable for a while. For though Romanzoff persisted in carrying on the siege of that place, after the retreat of the Russian army, under Count Butterlin, the united fleets of Russia and Sweden were driven off the coast, with some damage^b, by a boisterous wind, in the beginning of October, and obliged to return home; and the garrison of Colberg received a seasonable supply of provisions by sea, from Stetin. But neither of these disadvantages to his cause any way discouraged the Russian General. Romanzoff set the season and all the power that could be sent against him at defiance: and proceeded in the siege with such vigour, that made it soon necessary to detach more strength to support the Prince of Wurtemberg. General Platen was ordered upon that service, in his return from the destruction of the Russian magazines; and another detachment was sent under General Knoblock, to take post at Treplow in order to defend the convoys directed to rest at that place. These were wise dispositions, and all the force that his Prussian Majesty could spare at such a vast distance. They might have been sufficient for raising the siege of Colberg, had not Count Butterlin detached as many troops as

^b A Russian ship of the line was wrecked, and all the crew perished. The hospital ship was accidentally set on fire and destroyed.

his

his own security would admit, to scour the country, and to prevent the Prussian reinforcements and convoys reaching the place of their destination.

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Those numerous and strong detachments of Russians overspread the whole country; and distressed the besieged in such a manner, that it was thought proper for General Platen to quit the entrenchments, which he had maintained some time with the Prince of Wurtemberg, and to cover the Prussian reinforcements. But both he and his convoy were attacked by a much superior strength, which took part of his convoy, and pursued him and the remainder up to the gates of Stetin: where he escaped with much difficulty. The Russians then marched against Treptow, under General Romanzoff in person. The town had scarcely any walls: and only 2000 men in garrison. It was invested by 8000 men and upwards; but General Knoblock, who commanded at that post, made a brave defence for five days; when, in want of every thing, for subsistence and defence, the garrison were obliged to surrender prisoners of war.

Strength
of the
Russians.

Platen de-
feated.

Knoblock
surrenders.

The Russians in this quarter amounted now to 50,000 men and upwards; and they were so elated with these advantages of Platen and Knoblock, that nothing could satisfy them but the reduction of Colberg, which had so often foiled the arms of their country, and which, in their possession, would enable them, for the future, to get their provisions and ammunition without the tedious, hazardous

Siege of
Colberg
vigorously
carried on.

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hazardous road, and expensive method of conveying them from Poland. Besides, there was no strong place, except Stetin, between this sea port and Brandenburg.

Thus flushed with success, and animated with future hopes, the Russians redoubled their efforts in spite of the extreme rigour of the season, in that cold region; and got possession of a small fort that commanded the mouth of the harbour.

Distress of
the garrison.

The difficult navigation upon that coast, in the depth of winter, had deprived the garrison of regular supplies: but this fort in the hands of the enemy, threatened to cut off all hopes by sea, without which it could not be possible for the army and garrison to subsist. Therefore, the Prince of Wurtemberg had no alternative, but either to surrender by famine, or to work his deliverance by an act of valour: which latter being the choice of his men, he resolved to leave the governor to make the best terms for his garrison, and his army cut their way through part of the Russian forces with very inconsiderable loss.

Prince
Wurtemberg's
troops cut
their way.

Colberg
surrenders.

Colonel Hayde, or Haden¹, who commanded the town, being left to himself, without the least possibility of relief, with a garrison exhausted in their strength, by a siege of near six months, almost in want of provisions, and within a fortress almost battered to pieces, was forced to surrender²; and they were made prisoners of war.

¹ The same governor that had defended this town against all the efforts of Russia during this war.

² On the 16th of December.

The Russians now, for the first time, took up their winter-quarters in Pomerania : and the situation of the King of Prussia, with the Austrians at Schweidnitz, and the Russians at Colberg, the two extremities of his dominions, deprived him of the means to make any movement, which the enemy might not improve to his inevitable ruin. So that we leave his Prussian Majesty in a worse situation of his affairs, without having had one regular battle with his enemies, or suffering any considerable blow in the field ; than his Majesty ever found them at the conclusion of his most unfortunate campaigns.

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Russians
winter in
Pomerania.

Bad situation of the
King of
Prussia.

The negotiations for a separate peace between Great Britain and France proceeded, and with some appearance of sincerity ; but there was no cessation of arms. The situation of the allies, driven back from Cassel to their old quarters about Paderborn, would not permit them to attempt any new project against an enemy so vastly superior in the field. Neither could the French recover the blow given them by the destruction of their magazines, till the summer was pretty far advanced.

Operations
of the allies.

The first motion was made by the Prince de Soubise, about the end of June. He marched, with the troops under his command, over the Rhine, and advanced on the side of Munster, where he met with the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick to oppose him. At the same time M. Duke de Broglie marched from Cassel towards the Dymel, to join Soubise, intending, with their united

Prince de
Soubise
takes the
field.

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force, to attack the allies. This scheme so far succeeded, that M. Broglio, falling in with a post on the Dymel, commanded by General Sporcken, in the front of the allied army, not only obliged him to quit that advantageous post, but pursued and routed his rear; in which affair the French took 800 prisoners, nineteen pieces of cannon, 400 horses, and upwards of 170 waggons; Prince Ferdinand fell back to the Lippe¹; and Warburg, Dringelburg and Paderborn submitted to the French.

Situation
of Prince.
Ferdinand.

However, the allies only retreated, that they might advance again with more power. At first his Serene Highness contented himself with harassing the enemy by detached parties, which burnt their magazines, and intercepted their convoys. This determined the French, whose whole force united M. Broglio and the Prince of Soubise at Soest, between Lipstadt and Ham, to force him to a decisive battle. But as soon as the Prince discovered their intention he moved and encamped at Hohenover. The strength and advantage of this situation of the allied army will appear more clearly from the description of the premises. The Aest not only runs almost parallel for a considerable way with the Lippe, but so near, that in some places the distance does not exceed half a mile: between which parallels lies the high road from Lipstadt to Ham. In order to secure a safe retreat, or in any degree to command

¹ On the 2d of July.

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the adjacent country, it was necessary to get possession of that important communication. With this view his Serene Highness disposed his army, after this manner, with his left wing in the narrows between the rivers, having its left extremity under General Wutgenau, leading towards the Lippe, perfectly secured, as the right was supported by the village of Kirch-Denkern, situate immediately on the Aest. In which wing the Marquis of Granby commanded, with the assistance of Lieutenant-General Howard and the Prince of Anhalt posted towards the said village. At Kirch-Denkern the Aest is joined almost in a right angle by the Saltzbach, a small deep river; behind which is a considerable eminence, on which was placed the center, commanded by General Conway; and on the continuation of this height was placed the right wing, under the Hereditary Prince, stretching out towards the village of Werle, and well defended by bushy, rugged and almost impassable ground on the flank. Thus the whole center and right wing were covered by a river, and the left was supported by rivers on both flanks; in which was stationed the strength and flower of the army, and the greatest part of the artillery, because it was the most important situation; most exposed in front, and consequently most likely to be the chief object of the enemy's most powerful efforts. Other occasional dispositions were made, as appeared most to the advantage of the whole, and to counteract the motions of the enemy; who advanced with such ex-

Battle of
Kirch-
Denkern.

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1761.

pedition, that the several dispositions of the allies were not then completed, when the French attacked the posts defended by the Marquis of Granby, with a most furious fire of artillery and small arms. But the British troops maintained their ground with an intrepidity and firmness natural to their country; and their gallant commander contributed so effectually, by his example, to inspire them with the love of glory and the desire of victory, that they stood the whole torrent of that impetuosity, which distinguisheth the French in their first onsets, and resisted for some hours, till General Wutgenau, as it was originally planned, advanced to their assistance. When their united force attacked the French with a vigour, that cannot be described; and after a long and obstinate engagement, till it was quite dark, they repulsed the French, and made them seek for shelter amongst the woods.

This happened on the 15th of July. But it was far from being decisive. Prince Ferdinand employed the following night to complete his dispositions. General Wutgenau kept the ground he had just gained, and extended his right to Hans-Velinghausen, and turned his left towards the high road of Ham: the defence of which place was his chief object. His Serene Highness receiving advice early in the morning, that M. Broglie was advancing, with his united forces, to renew the battle, and judging that the strongest efforts would now be made on his left, ordered General Howard to bring up the brigade of foot, commanded by
Lord

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Lord Frederick Cavendish, and that of the cavalry by Major-General Lord Pembroke. At the same time Colonel Grevendorff was sent with two battalions to barricade and fortify the village of Kirch-Denkern; to be supported by Lieutenant-General Howard, in case of necessity. However, the enemy got possession of some posts opposite to the piquets; which was not in the power of an army, so greatly inferior to the French in numbers, to prevent: so that the patrols skirmished all night.

On the 16th, by day-break, the enemy's united Renewed. armies were discovered advancing in battle array. The Prince de Soubise led up their center and their left, and about three o'clock in the morning the battle began with a severe fire against the post where they had been foiled the day before. General Wutgenau received them with much bravery and firmness: for, after a continual and dreadful fire of cannon and musquetry for five hours, the French were not able to gain one inch of ground. About nine his Serene Highness, informed that the enemy were preparing to erect batteries upon an eminence opposite Lord Granby's post, which it had not been in his power to inclose within his lines, and which might prove fatal to that corps, ordered a reserved detachment, which he called in from beyond the Lippe, and opportunely arrived under General Sporcken, to advance to Lord Granby's assistance, and jointly to charge the enemy vigorously in their state of irresolution. The fate of the day turned upon

A. D. 1761. this movement. It had all the success that could be desired. It was decisive in favour of the allies. The troops under Lord Granby thus reinforced, executed their orders with that diligence and intrepidity, that they presently threw them into confusion, and obliged them to retreat with such precipitation, that they abandoned their dead, wounded, and several pieces of cannon, some of which were sixteen pounders. The whole regiment of Rouge, formerly Belsance, consisting of four battalions, surrendered, with their cannon and colours, to Maxwell's battalion of grenadiers: besides a great number of prisoners; and as soon as the enemy's left, which kept up a brisk fire on the side where the Hereditary Prince commanded, received the news of this defeat on their right, they retreated also, and joining with the center, covered their retreat. So that, favoured by this circumstance, and an inclosed country, the French escaped without any considerable loss, in the short pursuit of about three miles to Hiltrup: in which the cavalry could not act. Nevertheless the enemy lost upwards of 5000 men killed, wounded and prisoners: whereas the allies had not above 300 killed, 1000 wounded, and lost about 200 prisoners.

Loss on
both sides.

Remarks
on this
battle.

Though the allies gained an honourable advantage in this action, and kept the ground for some time, while the French retreated, the battle was far from decisive. The loss was so inconsiderable, in an army of that superior force, that the French were not disabled. So that had there been no secret motive to retard, and even to obstruct

frustrate the French operations, it is scarce credible, A. D.
1761. that two such armies, as were here united, would have sunk away, without some further attempt upon such an inferior force, as that under Prince Ferdinand. This motive soon after appeared to be the old grudge between Soubise and Broglie.

Their armies immediately separated from each French armies divided into units. other, under their respective commanders: and, as if they had laid aside all thoughts of action for the residue of the year, Broglie fell back towards Cassel, and Soubise passed the Roer. But these commanders endeavoured to exculpate themselves to their court, by bitter invectives against each other's conduct. Broglie threw all the blame of the late disgrace of the French arms, upon the Prince de Soubise, whom he accused of not advancing and beginning the attack, till it was too late for him to continue it. To which the Prince replied, That Broglie had begun before the time fixed, in hopes to force the allies without the assistance of Soubise; and that when he found that point lost, Broglie had obliged Soubise to retreat, that he might not have the honour of recovering it.

Prince Ferdinand was obliged, by the motions Future motions. of the enemy, to divide his army also, to watch both Broglie and Soubise. A part was posted, under the Hereditary Prince, to cover Munster: but his Serene Highness remained in the country towards the Weser, to oppose Broglie, who was reinforced with two large detachments from Soubise's army. And Soubise having secured a convoy

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Prince Fer-
dinand's
endeavours
to bring on
an engage-
ment,

of barges, coming down the river for his army, repassed that river and the Lippe, and advanced as far as Dulmen, and threatened Munster with a siege. Broglio pursued his old plan to penetrate into Hanover, seized upon Kester, which he fortified, and shewed a design to besiege Hamelen.

Though Prince Ferdinand was not in a condition to risk a battle upon any terms, and could not prevent this progress of the enemy into Hanover, his fruitful genius was employed to supply by art, what he was not able to do by numbers. He retired to Dumolt, and called in most of his detachments; with a resolution to attack Broglio, encamped in his neighbourhood on the heights of Neim, whenever opportunity might offer. But Broglio cautiously avoided a general action. Therefore Prince Ferdinand had recourse to stratagem, to try how he could diminish the enemy's army by skirmishing, and so to discourage his proceedings against Hanover. In which the allies had great success, though one of those skirmishes proved fatal to Prince Henry, who was mortally wounded, while he emulated the heroic actions of his brother the Hereditary Prince and his uncle Ferdinand.

On the other hand the Hereditary Prince paid so good attention towards the charge committed to his care, that as soon as he discovered some previous arrangements at Dorsten for a siege, and that a disappointment at this place would conduce, in a great measure, to divert the enemy from the siege of Munster, he attacked it on the

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30th of August, with so much resolution and perseverance, that he obliged the French battalion, that garrisoned Dorsten, to surrender prisoners of war; destroyed the magazines of meal, &c. and demolished the ovens. This obliged Prince de Soubise to retreat beyond the Lippe.

Broglio was too strong to be diverted from his intention against Hanover, and too cautious to be drawn into an engagement upon disadvantageous circumstances. Therefore Prince Ferdinand, having observed that his following him, was only to transfer the seat of war into the very territories he was ordered to cover from invasion, his Serene Highness had recourse to an expedient, which effectually answered his end, and saved Hanover without bloodshed. Accordingly, we find that when all his endeavours failed to check Broglio's march into the Electorate by force of arms, his Serene Highness took a resolution to return into Hesse, and to throw himself as far into the Land-gravate, as Broglio should advance into Hanover: and thereby stopping the means of the enemy's subsistence, he obliged Broglio to desist from his attempt upon the city of Hanover. Thus we see Prince Ferdinand pass the Dymel, and by forced marches returned to the neighbourhood of Cassel.

Prince Ferdinand's scheme to draw Broglio from Hanover.

This produced its expected effect. Broglio immediately returned into Hesse, with the greatest part of his army; and Prince Ferdinand once more retreated to Paderborn^m, established his

^m October the 19th.

A. D. 1761. head quarters at Buhne, and extended his lines to Hamelen, ready to follow Broglie, in case he should resume his designs upon Hanover. M. Broglie penetrating into this masterly piece of generalship, secured his posts in Hesse, took a situation, in which he watched all the motions of Prince Ferdinand, and kept himself in a readiness to fall back into Hesse, or advance into Hanover, as circumstances might require.

His motives discovered by Broglie.

Motions of the hereditary Prince.

The hereditary Prince having nothing to fear for Munster, rejoined the grand army, and pushed to the farthest extremities of Hesse, as far as Fritzlar; but was not in a condition to do any more than destroy the magazines, which he found in the open country; the fortresses being all in the hands of the enemy.

Of the Prince of Soubise.

In the mean time Prince de Soubise repassed the Lippe, advanced to Caesfeld, and detached parties that over-ran all Westphalia, and ravaged it in a most cruel manner. And M. Duke de Broglie sent out other detachments, which acted with great effect. One of them entered and made reprisals in Hartz Forest^m, besieged and reduced the strong castle of Scharfsfelts, which they demolished, and made the garrison prisoners; and laid the adjacent country under a severe contribution. Prince Xavier of Saxony was detached with a powerful party against Wolfenbuttelⁿ; of which

Of Prince Xavier of Saxony.

^m The remains of the great Hercynian, famous amongst the ancients.

ⁿ A strong city, surrounded by the Ocker, but mostly built of wood.

he



THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS



WILLIAM BECKFORD, Esq.,

he got possession by forced marches and a bombardment of five days, against which a wooden town is not capable of making any resistance. Flushed with this success, the Prince proceeded to Brunswick : but he received such a check before this city, by the arrival of the hereditary Prince, to the relief of his capital, that the French not only raised the siege, but abandoned Wolfenbittel, with the loss of 1000 men and upwards, and some of their cannon.

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Wolfen-
bittel sur-
renders.

Brunswick
relieved.

A detachment from Soubise's army took Osnabrug, and rifled the miserable inhabitants with the utmost severity, because they could not immediately pay an excessive contribution, imposed upon them. Another detachment appeared before Embden, garrisoned by two companies of English invalids, who were prevailed upon by fair promises of the enemy, and the desire of the frightened inhabitants, to surrender*. But notwithstanding their engagements for favourable treatment, and the easy surrender, the French laid both the town and all East Friesland under a ruinous contribution; and carried their exorbitances and savage means of collecting them to such a pitch of intolerableness, that they provoked the very boors to rise in their own defence; who drove them out of their country, with such arms only, as necessity and rage supplied them with. For which they paid very dear: many of them being hanged by another stronger detachment of French, who were sent to bring off the remains of the former.

Osnabrug
taken.

Embden
surrenders.

* The garrison embarked for Bremen.

The

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Mippen
taken by
the Prince
of Conde.

Bremen
attacked.

French
repulsed.

The Prince de Conde besieged Mippen, situate upon the Ems, reduced it; seized the magazines erected there by the allies, and made the garrison of 50 men, prisoners of war, on the 3d of October. Bremen became the next object of the French operations on this side. It is a great trading town, advantageously situated on the Weser, and was full of vast magazines for the allied army. As the loss of this sea port would have given the French the full command of the Weser, through which the allies received all their subsistence, it was of too great importance to give it up tamely. Besides, the rigour with which the French had exacted their contributions on all sides of them, so exasperated the inhabitants, that they resolved to join the garrison, and defend the town to the last extremity: so that the French were received before the walls of Bremen with such resolution, that they retired with precipitation; and a reinforcement of two battalions of the English Legion, was thrown into the town to prevent any surprise for the future: because the acquisition of this place would have enabled Soubise to pass the Weser, cut off Prince Ferdinand's communication with Stade, and reduced him to the necessity of demanding a capitulation, in case Broglie did at the same time make that progress in the Electorate of Hanover, which might have been expected from his superiority of numbers.

But this did not seem to be agreeable to the measures now pursued by France. The French ministry hoped for more advantage by the continuation,

tinuation, than bringing the German war in these parts to a quick conclusion. Therefore M. Duc de Broglio never stirred from his camp at Eimbeck, till the beginning of November, when Prince Ferdinand formed a scheme to attack him suddenly, before he could have time to call in his detached parties: or, at least, to cut off a large corps of 15 battalions, posted under the command of Mons. de Chabot, at Estenshausen. His Serene Highness ordered the hereditary Prince and General Luckner, reinforced with the garrison of Wolfenbuttle, to be at a certain hour, on the 5th of November, in the neighbourhood of Eimbeck. The Marquis of Granby had in charge to force the French post, at Cuppelahagen, on the 4th; and to block up a defile on the road from Estenshausen to Eimbeck, on the 5th: and General Hardenberg was ordered to pass the Weser at Badenwerder, and make himself master of another defile at Amelanxhorn, in the other road from Estenshausen to Eimbeck. The Prince himself marched with the main body, passed the Weser on the 4th, near Hastenbeck, and advanced towards Estenshausen. Mons. de Chabot, upon advice that Prince Ferdinand had passed the Weser, began early in the morning of the 5th, to retreat towards Eimbeck; but found the defile at Wickenfen blocked up by the Marquis of Granby, who had completed his orders in due time. He then retreated, and struck into the other road, committed to the care of General Hardenberg, and got safe to Eimbeck, that general having failed in point

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Inactivity
of M.
Broglio.

Prince Fer-
dinand's
attempt to
surprize
him.

How it
miscarried.

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point of time, occasioned by the over-setting of his pontoons, in his march to Badenwerder. However his Serene Highness could not think of abandoning this enterprize without offering the enemy battle. For this end, he proceeded; but found the French camp too strong to be attacked with any probability of success. He then made a movement to turn their flank, as if he purposed to cut off Broglie's communication with Gottingen: which, he apprehended, would either bring him to an engagement upon equal terms, or oblige him to retreat: and Broglie did accordingly retreat, on the 9th of November, and quartered his whole army at Cassel, and parts adjacent. Soubise marched his army to the Lower Rhine, and quartered them at Dusseldorp, and along that river. The allies also having no enemy to encounter in Westphalia, retired into winter quarters; the British cavalry in East Friesland, the infantry in the bishoprick of Osnabrug; and the allies at Eimbeck, Hamelen, Munster and Hilderfham.

M. Broglie
retreats.

All parties
retire into
winter
quarters.

Motives
for their
inactivity.

But it is easy to account for this inactivity in Germany; when we remember that a congress was appointed to be held at Augsbourg; a negociation was set on foot between France and England, and the countenance of the new British ministry was settled against a German war and continental connections.

Domestic
affairs.

A new par-
liament
elected.

The state of affairs at home wore at this time a very different aspect from their appearance about the conclusion of the last year. A new parliament was elected; and though the exchequer did not appear to interfere so openly in the elections of

representatives, as it had frequently done on former occasions; and the people were taught to believe that they should have a free independent parliament, it is incontestable, that the courtiers did not fail to manage their interest so, as to secure a majority for every purpose of a ministry to be established, and disposed to approve of their future councils and measures. Neither were they forgetful of adding to the weight of the other house, by a considerable increase of the peerage: though every election was canvassed, and every creation was bestowed with the utmost delicacy and caution, to prevent all suspicion of a court influence, as might be exemplified by that zeal, with which many great men of this realm expressed themselves to their constituents on this occasion, in praise of the times, the King, the minister and government, especially in the speech of WILLIAM BECKFORD, Esq; to the worthy liverymen of the city of LONDON, upon his being declared one of their representatives in parliament ⁹.

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1761.

Alderman
Beckford's
speech to
the livery-
men of
London at
his election.

While

⁹ Gentlemen and Fellow-Citizens,

You have been pleased to elect me once again one of your representatives, with three very worthy gentlemen, in order to transact your business in parliament: and I look upon this as the greatest honour that can be conferred upon me; for I never have desired, nor ever shall desire, any other honour or title than that of a private gentleman, acting, as one of your representatives, a free and independent part in parliament.

I look upon this honour to be still greater, as you are sensible I have not solicited personally your votes and interest; and I can assure you, gentlemen, it was not through want of
any

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1761.

Progress of
the negoci-
ations for
a peace.

While the nation was busy in the choice of representatives (before whom were expected to come affairs

any respect to the livery of London, for there is no man living that reverences and regards it more than I do : I thought it more becoming and more respectful in me, to leave to the independent livery of London the choice of their members.

I am very sensible, gentlemen, that many things have been alledged against me ; from mistaken notions I have been represented as a man of arbitrary and despotic principles ; I therefore take this opportunity of declaring in the face of all the livery of London, that my principles ever have been, and ever shall be, to support the religious and civil liberties of this country. You see, gentlemen, I speak my mind freely ; a decent freedom is the first privilege of a member of parliament, and therefore I hope I may give no offence whatsoever ; I am sure I never intended it ; yet I am very sensible that while I have sat in parliament I have given offence ; but I declare publickly, herein I never did say any thing against men, but against measures ; the opposition I sometimes made, has been to measures and not to men ; I have felt, as you all know, for the three first days poll, that resentment operates much stronger than friendship ; but I have found likewise that the friendship of the livery was even stronger than resentment, and the poll shews it.

It will be an honour to me to proceed in the same manner I have done, declaring publickly to every man, that I have no kind of enmity whatever to any particular persons, who, I dare venture to say, have made that opposition to me from a conviction that I have done wrong. You, gentlemen, are the first city of the kingdom : You are, in point of riches and in point of influence, superior ; and all the nation will take the example from your city ; therefore I hope that the same independence which you have shewn upon every occasion, will still continue, and that you will set an example to all other cities and boroughs of this kingdom, of that independence, and that uncorrupt conduct you have been always famous for.

In

affairs of that interesting nature, as perhaps had never been laid before any preceding parliament, in
confe-

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In some other places we have frequent experience that the arts of canvassing have been quite different from what it is in London; and therefore I repeat it that I hope the livery of London will not take it amiss in me, that I have not made that personal application: I declare it, and would willingly enforce it, I never did it in my last election (the election before this) I never did it in this election: but it was not out of want of respect, but from a quite contrary reason.

Gentlemen, as our constitution is deficient only in one point; and that is, that little pitiful boroughs send members to parliament equal to great cities, and it is contrary to the maxim that power should follow property; therefore it becomes you of the livery of London to be extremely upon your guard, as you have been on the present occasion, to choose members that are entirely independent: and I do most heartily congratulate you upon your present choice of the other three members; as to myself I have nothing to say.

You have upon all occasions, gentlemen, whenever any attack was made upon the constitution of this kingdom, readily stepped forth, and stood in the breach; and you have supported the liberties of the nation with firmness and resolution; we are now come to times, gentlemen, when there is no occasion for that firmness or that resolution; for we have now (praise be to God for it) we have now a young monarch upon the throne whose qualities are so extremely amiable, whose resemblance is exact in every feature of body and soul, the same as that great and amiable young Prince Edward the Sixth. You have a truly patriot King, and therefore have no occasion to exercise that firmness and resolution which has been called for at many other times: you have likewise a patriot minister, I say a patriot minister; and therefore it will be your own fault if you are not the happiest people in all Europe.

I will not, gentlemen, trespass too much upon your good nature and indulgence: I will conclude with a most sincere

Vo L. V.

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prayer

A. D.
1761.

Mr. Stanley
at Paris.

Mr. Buffy
at London.

Remarks.

consequence of the successes of our arms, which exceeded all the achievements of former ages; and of the negotiations of peace, which were to treat of subjects, on which depended the future interest and glory of this nation, and the settling of a safe, honourable, and adequate peace) Hans Stanley, Esq; embarked on the 24th of May, at Dover, in quality of his Majesty's minister, to treat with the court of France at Paris, and landed the same day at Calais, where he met with M. Buffy, the French minister, appointed to treat on the same occasion with the British ministry at London; where he arrived on the 31st of the same month, and next day was introduced by the Spanish ambassador to the Right Honourable Mr. PITT, and the Earl of BUTE, secretaries of state, and to the Duke of Newcastle: and afterwards he went to court.

This was looked upon as a great mistake in politics; to admit an enemy; the most artful, intriguing minister, and one, who had misbehaved so much at the court of London, in the late reign, to erect his engines, to practise his arts, to spread his nets, in the very center of our power, our councils, and our interest; with every opportunity he could desire to deceive and to corrupt: and what was a more unpardonable oversight, this French statesman was permitted to range at large in England, at the time of parliamentary elec-

prayer and hearty wish, that freedom and independency, and all happiness, may attend this city now and for evermore.

W. BECKFORD.
tions.

tions. What real harm did arise from the presence of such a visitor, at this unseasonable time, is not to be ascertained: but this is most evident, the tories once more began to exert their talents in aspersing and degrading both the men and measures, to which we were indebted for our signal successes; parties were formed in favour of the French proposals; and the interest of Mr. PITT visibly declined at court, in proportion to his firmness and disembarassed conduct, in the course of the negociation with this French agent.

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Mr. Bussy's apparent business was to continue and conclude a treaty upon the basis of some previous correspondence, proposals and assurances mutually carried on and given by the Belligerent powers, especially between England and France; in which both kings declared their good dispositions and sincerity to put an end to the war; the last of which was dated at Versailles on the 26th of March, transmitted from the Duc de Choiseul to Mr. PITT, by the hands of Prince Gallatzin, the Russian ambassador at London^p. To which
Mr.

^p The letter from the Duke of Choiseul to Mr. PITT, inclosed the following memorial from the most Christian King:

"The most Christian King wishes that the separate peace of France with England could be united with the general peace of Europe, which his Majesty most sincerely desires to establish; but as the nature of the objects which have occasioned the war between France and England, is totally foreign from the disputes in Germany, his most Christian Majesty has thought it necessary to agree with his Britannic Majesty, on the principal articles, which may form the basis of their separate ne-

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Mr.
PITT's
answer.

Mr. Secretary PITT replied immediately, That the King his master sincerely desired to correspond with

gociations, in order to accelerate, as much as possible, the general conclusion of the peace.

The best method to accomplish the end proposed, is to remove those intricacies which might prove obstacles to its success. In the business of peace, the disputes of nations concerning their reciprocal conquests, the different opinions with respect to the utility of particular conquests, and the compensations for restitutions, generally form matter of embarrassment at a negotiation of peace: as it is natural for each nation, with regard to these different points, to endeavour the acquisition of all possible advantages, interest and distrust occasion oppositions and produce delays. To obviate these inconveniencies, and to testify the sincerity of his proceedings in the course of the negotiation of peace with England, the most Christian King proposes to agree with his Britannic Majesty, that, with respect to the particular war of France and England, the two crowns shall remain in possession of what they have conquered from each other, and that the situation in which they shall stand on the 1st of September, in the year 1761, in the East Indies, on the 1st of July in the same year, in the West Indies and in Africa, and on the 1st of May preceding in Europe, shall be the position which shall serve as a basis to the treaty which may be negotiated between the two powers. Which shews that the most Christian King, in order to set an example of humanity, and to contribute to the re-establishment of the general tranquility, will make a sacrifice of those restitutions which he has a right to claim, at the same time that he will maintain those acquisitions which he has gained from England during the course of the war.

Nevertheless, as his Britannic Majesty may think that the periods proposed of the 1st of September, July and May, are either too near or too distant for the interests of the British crown, or that his Britannic Majesty may judge it proper to make compensation for the whole, or for part of the reciprocal

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with the pacific sentiments of his most Christian Majesty; but that he was determined to support the interest of the Prussian Monarch, and his other allies, with the cordiality and efficacy of a sincere and faithful ally. This letter was accompanied with a memorial, acknowledging the objects, which brought on the war between England and France, to be totally foreign from the disputes in Germany; and concluded with a desire to see, in London, a person duly authorised to enter into a discussion of such points, as should be found essential to the interests of the two nations.

In consequence of this proposal M. Bussy was hurried over, so early as the month of May †; but the French court did not empower him to deliver any specific propositions¹, which were to serve as a basis

French delays.

procal conquests of the two crowns, the most Christian King will readily enter into negotiation with his Britannic Majesty in relation to these two objects, when he shall know his sentiments concerning them, the principal view of his most Christian Majesty being to testify not only to England, but to the whole world, his sincere disposition to remove all impediments, which might defer the salutary object of peace.

The most Christian King expects, that the disposition of his Britannic Majesty will be correspondent, and that he will, with equal sincerity, answer all the articles contained in this memorial, in which the two powers are so essentially interested."

† See p. 158.

¹ Of the propositions the following is an abstract:

1. An entire cession of Canada to England; but,
2. On four conditions: 1. That the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion be allowed there. 2. That the subjects of the French King may retire into any other of the French colonies,

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Specific
proposi-
tions for
the basis
of a peace.

a basis for the negociation of the future peace, till the 15th of July, and not till the French King

lonies, under certain restrictions. 3. The limits of Canada, with regard to Louisiana, and of Louisiana and Virginia, to be clearly and firmly established. 4. The liberty of fishing and drying the cod-fish on the banks of Newfoundland, to be confirmed to the French as heretofore; and, to render this effectual, Cape Breton shall be restored to them—but yet, with a prohibition from erecting any fortifications in it.

3. Minorca shall be restored to us, with the artillery, &c. and in the same condition as when conquered.

4. Guadalupe and Marigalante shall, in return, be restored to France.

5. The four Neutral Islands shall still remain neuter; or only Dominica or St. Vincent, both occupied by the Caribbees, while Tobago shall belong to the English, and St. Lucia to the French.

6. The treaty concluded between the Sieurs Godeheu and Saunders, to be the basis for the re-establishment of the peace of Asia, and the peace of the two French and English East-India trading companies.

7. Senegal, or Goree, one or the other, shall be restored; as also,

8. Belleisle; — in consideration of which,

9. The French will evacuate Hesse, Hanau, and those parts of Hanover occupied by their troops.

The 10th article proposed certain conditions about withdrawing our and their forces out of Germany.

11. All conquests made before the execution of the treaty to be restored. [meaning, if made after the days to be agreed on] The days proposed by France were, 1st of May 1761 in Europe; 1st of July in Africa and the West-Indies; and 1st of September in the East-Indies. And the days proposed by us were, the 1st of July, September, and November, 1761, provided the preliminaries be signed and ratified before the 1st of August.

12. The

King had seen, that the best terms, he could expect to obtain by every art and intrigue of negotiation, would leave him in a very abject state of humiliation; and had prevailed with Spain to assist him, by force of arms, to oblige England to grant him better terms of peace. In consequence of which treaty with Spain, this memorial of propositions was accompanied with a private memorial relating to that kingdom. Which, in plain terms, made certain demands upon Great Britain, in the name of his Catholic Majesty, and threatened a fresh war in Europe and America, in case they should not be adjusted on this occasion. And as a further obstacle to the success of those propositions, Mr. Bussy clogged his memorial with demands on the part of the Empress Queen also, without which, the Frenchman said, her Imperial Majesty would not consent to a separate peace with England. Both which papers Mr. PITT returned next day, viz. on the 24th of July, with disdain, inclosed in the following letter:

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Intrigue
with Spain
at the same
time.

“S I R,

Having explained myself, in our conference yesterday, with respect to certain engagements of France with Spain, relative to the disputes of the latter crown with Great Britain, of which your court never informed us, but at the very instant

Mr. PITT
rejects the
French de-
mands on
the part of
Spain, &c.

12. The captures made at sea, before the declaration of war, to be restored, or made good to the proprietors.
13. The Protestant succession to be guaranteed, if desired.
14. The prisoners on each side to be set at liberty.

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of making, as she has done, her first propositions for the separate peace of the two crowns; and as you have desired, for the sake of greater punctuality, to take a note of what passed between us upon so weighty a subject; I here repeat, Sir, by his Majesty's order, the same declaration, word for word, which I made to you yesterday, and again anticipate you with respect to the most sincere sentiments of friendship and real regard on the part of his Majesty towards the Catholic King, in every particular consistent with reason and justice. It is my duty to declare farther to you in plain terms, in the name of his Majesty, that he will not suffer the disputes with Spain to be blended, in any manner whatever, in the negotiation of peace between the two crowns; to which I must add, that it will be considered as an affront to his Majesty's dignity, and as a thing incompatible with the sincerity of the negotiation, to make farther mention of such a circumstance.

Moreover, it is expected that France will not, at any time, presume a right of intermeddling in such disputes between Great-Britain and Spain.

These considerations, so just and indispensable, have determined his Majesty to order me to return you the memorial, which occasions this, as wholly inadmissible.

I likewise return you, Sir, as totally inadmissible, the memorial relative to the King of Prussia, as implying an attempt upon the honour of Great-Britain, and the fidelity, with which his Majesty

jefty will always fulfil his engagements with his allies. A. D. 1761.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed P I T T."

And Mr. Stanley, by order of his court, delivered to the Duc de Choiseul, the definitive propositions of Great-Britain, on the 29th of the same month, which insisted;

Definitive
proposi-
tions of
Great Bri-
tain.

1. That France shall cede Canada, Cape Breton, and the islands in the gulph of St. Lawrence, with the right of fishing on the coasts.
2. Whatever does not belong to Canada, shall not be considered as appertaining to Louisiana.
3. Senegal and Goree shall be yielded to England.
4. Dunkirk shall be put in the state it ought to be in by the treaty of Utrecht; and on this condition, France shall be restored to the privilege allowed her by that treaty, of fishing on part of the banks of Newfoundland.
5. The Neutral Islands shall be equally divided.
6. Minorca shall be restored.
7. France shall avacuate and restore all her conquests in Germany.
8. England shall restore Belleisle and Guadalupe.
9. Disputes in the East Indies shall be settled by the two companies.
10. The captures made by England before war was declared, shall not be restored.

11. France

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11. France shall not retain Ostend and Nieuport.

12. The cessation of arms shall take place when the preliminaries are ratified, or the definitive treaty signed.

13. Both kings shall be at liberty to assist their German allies.

14. Prisoners shall be reciprocally set at liberty.

The reply
of France.

To which France returned for answer, on the 5th of August;

1. France will yield all Canada, but insists that the Roman Catholic religion shall be tolerated there, and that the inhabitants shall have liberty to dispose of their effects, and retire. France further insists on the right of fishing in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and demands some island near it on which to dry her fish.

2. France doth not pretend that what is not Canada is Louisiana; but demands that the intermediate nations between Canada and Louisiana, and between Virginia and Louisiana, shall be considered as independent, and a barrier between the French and English.

3. France demands Goree. However M. de Buffy shall talk about this point.

4. M. de Buffy shall also talk about Dunkirk, when a port is agreed on in the Gulph of St. Lawrence for the protection of the French fishery.

5. France agrees to the partition of the Neutral Islands, as before proposed.

6. Eng.

6. England may keep Belleisle, and France will keep Minorca. A. D. 1761.

7. In consideration of the restitution of Guadalupe, France will evacuate her conquests in Germany, except those made on the King of Prussia, which are held for the Empress-Queen.

8. France accepts of Guadalupe, as a compensation for her cessions in North America and Africa, and the demolition of the works at Dunkirk.

9. France agrees that the East India companies shall settle their differences.

10. France insists on the restitution of the captures made before the war.

11. France never intended to keep Ostend and Nieuport.

12. The term of ceasing hostilities will occasion no difference.

13. If England will withdraw her assistance from her German allies, France will do the same with regard to hers.

14. The release of the prisoners is well.

An answer to the above *ultimatum* was delivered on the first of September, to the following purport ;

The answer of Great Britain.

1. England insists on the full and entire cession of Canada and its appurtenances; the island of Cape Breton, and the islands in the Gulph of St. Lawrence; Canada comprehending, agreeable to the line of limits drawn by M. Vaudreuil himself, when he gave up the province by capitulation, on one side the lakes Huron, Michigan and

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Superior; and the said line drawn from Lake Rouge, comprehending, by a winding course, the river Ouabache to its junction with the Ohio, and from thence stretching along this last river inclusively to its confluence with the Mississippi. The Roman Catholic religion shall be tolerated in Canada; the inhabitants may sell their effects, provided the purchasers be British subjects; and shall be allowed a year to remove elsewhere.

2. The limits of Louisiana, delivered in a note by M. de Buffy, cannot be allowed, because they comprehend vast tracts of land, which Vaudreuil comprehended within Canada; and on the side of the Carolinas they comprehended extensive regions, and numerous nations, under England's protection.

3. England shall keep Senegal and Goree; but if France will suggest any reasonable scheme for supplying herself with negroes, it shall be considered.

4. Dunkirk shall be put in the state it ought to be in by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. France shall be restored to the privilege allowed her in the treaty of Utrecht, of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, and drying fish there. France, moreover, shall be allowed to catch fish in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and the island of St. Peter's shall be ceded to her for drying them, provided she abstain from fishing on the coast, and erect no fortification, or keep any military establishment on the said island; and provided that an English commissary be allowed to reside on it, and

and English men of war to visit it from time to time, to see that the above stipulations be observed.

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5. No alternative for the Neutral (so called) Islands will be accepted; but the partition of them will still be agreed to.

6. Belleisle, Guadalupe and Marigalante, shall be restored.

7. Minorca shall be restored.

8. With regard to the evacuation of the French conquests in Germany, England adheres to the 7th article of her *ultimatum*, and insists on the restitution of Wesel, and the King of Prussia's territories.

9. England will still support the King of Prussia with vigour and good faith.

10. The restitution of the ships taken before the war is unjust by the law of nations.

11. England trusts to France's declaration relative to Ostend and Newport.

12, 13, 14. England persists in what she said in her *ultimatum*.

The court of Versailles delayed their answer to this *ultimatum* till the first of September, and in the interim had concluded and signed the family-treaty, so often mentioned, under negociation. It was signed at Paris on the 25th of August, by which France and Spain were bound, by mutual oaths, to assist each other in all means offensive and defensive; and, by every article, this treaty was intended to be a treaty of firm union and concord;

French
treaty with
Spain de-
structive to
the liber-
ties of Eu-
rope.

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formed by ambition to destroy all ballance of power, and for ever to disturb the peace of mankind: a treaty concluded in so secret a manner, that not above one or two persons, besides the parties, that were appointed to sign it, had, for some time, any knowledge of it.

But the last reply of France to the English *ultimatum* of the first of September, which was dated on the 9th of the same month, discovered the machinations of France and the designs of Spain: and Mr. PITT had strong reasons to believe that M. Bussy had orders not to sign the French *ultimatum*, had it been received admissible by the British court.

Reasons
for break-
ing off the
negotia-
tions.

From the time that M. Bussy delivered the Spanish memorial, Mr. PITT instantly took the alarm, and saw the insincerity of France. He rejected, with disdain, the offer of negotiating through an enemy humbled, and almost at his feet, the disputes of his nation, with a power actually in friendship with us. He not only returned that offensive and insidious memorial, as wholly inadmissible, affronting to the dignity of his master, and incompatible with the sincerity of pacific negotiators: but he dispatched a messenger to Lord Bristol, the English minister at the court of Spain, to remonstrate with energy and firmness, the unexampled irregularity of that court: our minister, Mr. Stanley, was recalled from Paris, the negotiation broke off, and M. Bussy returned to France.

French
evasions to
throw the

The French court published an historical narrative, to vindicate their sincerity, and to throw the
mis-

miscarriage of the pacific negotiation, the continuation of the war, and its future bad effects, upon England. Which began with the stale exploded pretence, that Great Britain was the aggressor in the present war. To prove this they affirmed, with an effrontry peculiar to their nation and a bad cause, that the rupture in America was owing to the most unreasonable and extravagant opposition on the part of the English commissaries^a. They unjustly accused the court of London with arming the King of Prussia, and with means of endeavouring to raise a general war against France. They took much pains to induce a belief that the French King made it his principal care, in all his engagements with his allies, not to blend the differences, which disturbed the peace of America, with those, which raised a commotion in Europe: and ascribed the first movements towards a war with France in Germany to the King of England, Elector of Hanover's refusing a neutrality for Hanover, in 1757, and sending an army, under the command of his son the Duke of Cumberland, into his hereditary dominions in Germany; who, at the head of an army entirely composed of Germans, was ordered to oppose the march of those forces, which the French King, in pursuance of his engagements, sent to the assistance of his allies, who were attacked in their dominion. They proceeded with the capitulation of *Closter-Seven*. They threw the blame of the infringement of that treaty

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1761.

blame up-
on Eng-
land.

^a See Vol. I. p. 49, &c. where this is confuted.

upon

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upon the court of London; and grafted upon this event a war in Westphalia and Lower Saxony, that had the same object as the hostilities in America, Asia and Africa; that is to say, the disputes subsisting between the crowns of England and France, concerning the limits of Acadia and Canada. This war they denominate purely English, which they pretend was carried on only because the army of England, in that part, defended the possessions of the King of Great Britain and his allies. However, they acknowledge that the two wars in Germany were so connected, that France could not make a separate peace with England, but by consent of the Empress-Queen.

Remarks.

In this preamble it will be necessary to observe, That their perfidious and ambitious intentions were not yet made sensible of their unjust proceedings, which obliged Great Britain to arm in defence of her colonies and allies. And that a potentate, possessed with a firm belief, that he had done no more, than what he had a right to do, and that he was not in justice, but by necessity, compelled to sacrifice the matters in dispute, could not be sincerely disposed to treat of a peace, that should disable him ever after from asserting and recovering that right, which nothing, but a superior force, had made him give up to the conqueror. And it is also worthy of observation, to what shifts the French politician is driven, to make two distinct wars in Germany, and yet to connect them in the conditions of peace. The first pretence is, an obstruction of the French operations by an army
of

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of Germans, under the Duke of Cumberland. The next pretence is, the motions of an English army under Prince Ferdinand, in breach of the capitulation of Closter-Seven. Did the Duke of Cumberland attack or invade any of the French allies? or was his Royal Highness commissioned, or did he threaten so to do? if these things were not so? what business had a French army in Westphalia and in Lower Saxony! What umbrage could the German army under the Duke of Cumberland give to France or to her allies? Did not France on the contrary, declare in all the courts of Europe, that her intentions, by her entering Germany, with those powerful armies, were to invade the dominions of the Elector of Hanover, and of the allies of Great Britain? Did not the French Marshal Duke de Richelieu, with the approbation of the French ministry, refuse to comply with the stipulated articles of the capitulation at Closter-Seven? And did not the most intolerable severities, and most barbarous treatment of his Britannic Majesty's faithful German subjects, and our allies, call upon Great Britain for aid and support, for defence and justice, according to the faith of treaties? Could that army, which thus rose out of the remains of the Duke of Cumberland's, be deemed any more English, than his had been? Or, could their actions be accounted any otherwise a pure English war with France, than as this army was employed thenceforward in driving out the French cruel invaders from the dominions of the British allies, which they had,

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M

unpro-

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unprovoked, entered and endeavoured to destroy? This could not be imputed for an act of hostility. For certainly, it was as conformable to the laws of nations and of arms, for Great Britain to send forces, in pursuance to her engagements, to the assistance of her allies, who were attacked in their dominions, as it was for France, without incurring the charge of fomenting a war; yet this is the chief reason given in defence of the French army's first march into Westphalia. But in order to embarrass the negotiations for peace, they blend the interest of the Empress Queen, and her demands upon the King of Prussia, in a treaty to put an end to a war, which they call purely English. Thus to justify their hostilities against Hesse and Hanover, and other British allies, the war is to be considered to be English: and to furnish them with evasions and plausible motives to break off their pacific negotiations; the conquests, made from Prussia by the French army, that penetrated into Hesse and Hanover, and met with no other opposition, than the army of the allies, are to be given to the Empress Queen, and the peace could not be made between those two armies without her Imperial Majesty's consent.

The French narrative proceeds with an accusation, That the court of London, notwithstanding the invitation of his Britannic Majesty's declaration, on the 25th of November, 1759, and the conference of General Yorke with the French ambassador at the Hague, was extremely averse to an accommodation, and that it was no more than an external

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ternal act of complaisance for her allies, without the least intention it should take effect: and with every invention to magnify the sincerity of the French King, who offered to treat upon an offer of the *uti possidetis*. But when the memorial of the most Christian King was presented to the court of London this *uti possidetis* appeared to be a mere insinuating term, for the French ministry to protract the negotiation for their own conveniency, and to supply them with an argument to discontinue, and to cast the blame of the breaking of the negotiation, upon the English. Wesel and Guelders, which were a part of the French conquests, were by them thrown out of their possession and made the property of the Empress-Queen, as soon as they perceived the British ministry agreeable to conclude upon that equitable condition.

In the course of these negotiations, on the point of the *uti possidetis*, the French ministry proposed to evacuate Hesse, Gottingen and the country of Hanau, and to withdraw their forces upon the Rhine and the Maine, and not to leave any French troops in Germany, but in proportion to what troops of the enemy remained assembled in the British army in Westphalia. But when they found that the English court had no intention of restoring any island or port in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, or within reach of the gulph, and absolutely refused to cede the Island of Cape Breton to France; and that England would not restore either Senegal or Goree, and insisted upon the demolition of Dunkirk, conformable to former

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treaties, the equivocation in the *uti possidetis* made its appearance. For then, instead of evacuating conquests in Germany, and withdrawing the French troops, as promised, a note was delivered by M. Buffy to Mr PITT, in which the French King, in possession of Wesel and Guelders, by conquest, transfers the property of those towns and territories taken from the King of Prussia to the Empress-Queen, to deprive Great Britain of the advantage to secure the interest of her allies under the condition of the *uti possidetis*; or to open a way to break off the negotiation with an appearance of equity and justice; being assured that this deviation from the true sense of that condition would be rejected by his Britannic Majesty, who could not give up the interest of his ally in a war, which their common enemy acknowledged to be truly English. And at the same time M. Buffy completed Mr. PITT's suspicion of the insincerity of the French ministry, and of some secret machinations between France and Spain, to the prejudice of Great Britain and her allies, by presenting the private memorial relating to Spain.

This penetration and firmness of Mr. PITT struck the French negociator so sensibly, who was so conscious of the insincerity with which he was acting, and convinced by this conduct of the English minister, that it would be impossible to conceal the real designs of the contracting powers of France and Spain much longer, that he endeavoured to shift the real cause of dislike, and to represent the cause of the inadmissibility of his memorials

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rials and notes not to be found in their contents, nor in any objection from the King of England, or his council, but merely in Mr. PITT's personal opposition to peace. For, this crafty Frenchman adds, Mr. PITT refused to agree to any of the articles in the memorial of propositions: he entered very little into the particular motives of his opposition: he expatiated with some warmth on the memorial, which related to Spain; rejected the notes, which concerned the allies in Germany, with disdain.

By these liberties taken with Mr. PITT's person, Mr. PITT in an affair, that was totally national, we are led defended. to these reflections: whether M. Bussy had any hopes of support, in a personal attack of the minister, from any about the court: and whether he had a real foundation for accusing Mr. PITT of partiality, haughtiness, obstinacy, or too much warmth. As to the first, it was at this time well known, that there were enemies to Mr. PITT's measures, who envied his glory and who would rather lose all the advantages he had procured to his country; than see Britain made great, by his means; and who joined heartily with the French negociator to enforce the French propositions. If so, M. Bussy seems, in this particular, to have been instructed to act in concert with the opposition to Mr. PITT. As to the second, it must be remarked, that in the conferences between Mr. PITT and M. Bussy, the British minister, with a spirit and dignity becoming his character, the greatness of his nation, and the majesty of his

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master, always treated him short; he said little in all conferences, and what he said was always final. He left no room for prevarication; and when it was attempted, he always withdrew: because he was instructed by their conduct on all former occasions of like importance, to distrust the sincerity of M. Buffly's intentions, and the integrity of the French court. The French negociator was thus deprived of coming at the secrets of England, of which long conferences and casual expressions might convey some intimations. As to this particular case, if we may credit M. Buffly's account, the several pieces laid, by him, before Mr. PITT, on the 23d of July, had been previously communicated to Mr. Stanley, and transmitted to his court in order to apprise the English minister of their contents. So that it is reasonable to conclude, that Mr. PITT had well considered, and found that those pieces were wholly inadmissible, before they underwent the form of presentation by M. Buffly, and therefore the English minister had nothing more to say on their delivery, than to refuse to agree to such propositions.

M. Buffly's
expedient
to destroy
Mr. Pitt's
influence.

The bad policy of admitting an agent from an enemy in open war to the center of our power and politics, was now sensible felt. M. Buffly, despairing of success, either by intrigue, or by surprise, or by any other means, than a fair and upright negotiation with Mr. PITT, set himself to work another way. He had met with other persons, who treated him without any reserve; and he endeavoured to improve their affability with
extreme

extreme courtesy and address. This was his master-piece ; and he employed it with dexterity, wherever he could find admission, and a dislike to the minister and his measures. He threw into a sarcastical light every virtue of those, who were for making the most of the national advantages. He painted ruin upon our successes : he converted resolution, firmness, and intrepidity, into quixotism, obstinacy, and insolence ; dignity into pride ; and manly boldness into haughty presumption. Buffy found Mr. PITT had enemies ; and them he furnished with his doctrine, which they spread abroad with uncommon industry.

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Having thus resolved to treat Mr. PITT, M. Buffy takes all opportunities to make him alone accountable for the miscarriage of the negotiation. He alledged, that the letter of the 24th of July, rejecting the Spanish memorial ; and the definitive propositions from the court of Great Britain, in answer to the French memorial ; transmitted to Versailles, on the 29th of July, were dictated with an air of haughtiness and despotism, and shewed a manifest aversion to all reconciliation. For, though the court of Spain refined their politics so far, as to order their ambassador at London to deliver a note * to Mr, PITT, in consequence of

* *Note of the Spanish ambassador to Mr. PITT.*

"The most Christian King, who wishes to make the peace, concerning which he proposed to treat with England, at once effectual and durable, entrusted his intentions with the King my master, expressing the pleasure with which he em-

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of which the Spanish memorial was never after mentioned in the negociation with M. Buffy ; and
M. Buffy

“ braced that opportunity of acknowledging his sense of the
“ reiterated offers which his Catholick Majesty had made both
“ to Him and England, in order to facilitate a just and last-
“ ing reconciliation.

“ It is from these principles of sincerity that the Most
“ Christian King proposed to the King my master the guaranty
“ of the treaty of peace, as a measure which might be equally
“ convenient to France and England, and at the same time
“ assured him of his sincere intentions with respect to the sa-
“ crifices he proposed to make, in order to restore tranquillity
“ to Europe, by an honourable and lasting peace.

“ Such a proceeding of his Most Christian Majesty could
“ not but be highly acceptable to the King my master, who
“ found it agreeable to his own sentiments, and to his desire
“ of fulfilling on his part, with the most distinguished con-
“ formity, all the connections which unite them both by ties
“ of blood and their mutual interest : and moreover, he per-
“ ceived in the disposition of the King of France, that mag-
“ nanimity and humanity which are natural to him, by his
“ endeavours on his side, to render the peace as permanent
“ as the vicissitudes of human affairs will admit of.

“ It is with the same candor and sincerity that the King my
“ master expressed in confidence to the Most Christian King,
“ that he wished his Britannic Majesty had not made a difficulty
“ of settling the guaranty, on account of the grievances of
“ Spain and England, as he has all the reason to conclude
“ that his Britannic Majesty has the same good intentions to
“ terminate them amicably, according to reason and justice.

“ The confidence which the King my master reposed in
“ France, gave that court room to testify to his Britannic Ma-
“ jesty the sincerity of their intentions for the re-establishment
“ of peace, since, by proposing the guaranty of Spain, they
“ expressed their sincere desire of seeing the interests of Spain
“ settled at the same time, which might one day re-kindle the
“ flames

M. Buffy pretended to have orders to apologize, in a letter to M. PITT, for interfering with the interests of the court of Spain, it is evident from both those pieces, that Spain was seeking a pretence to break with England; and that France was determined to take part in her quarrel: though

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"flames of a new war, which at present they wish to extinguish.

"If the intentions of the Most Christian King, and the King my master, did not seem fraught with sincerity, the King my master flatters himself, that his Britannic Majesty will do him the justice to consider his in that light; since, if they were founded on any other principle, his Catholick Majesty giving full scope to his greatness, would have spoken from himself, and as became his dignity.

"I must not omit to inform you, that the King my master will learn with surprize, that the memorial of France could raise a sentiment in the breast of his Britannic Majesty, entirely opposite to the intentions of the two Sovereigns.

"But his Catholic Majesty will always be pleased, whenever he sees that they make that progress which he has ever desired, in the negotiation of peace, whether it be separate between France and England, or general; as his sincere wishes are to make it perpetual, by obviating every source which might hereafter unhappily renew the war.

"For this reason, the King my master flatters himself that his Britannic Majesty animated with the same sentiments of humanity towards the publick tranquillity, will express the same intentions of terminating the disputes of England with a power which has afforded such reiterated proofs of her friendship, at the same time that it is proposed to restore peace to all Europe in general."

Mr. Buffy's letter to Mr. PITT, 5th August 1761.

"S I R,

"I have acquainted my court with the letter of the 24th of last month, with which your excellency honoured me, on
"return-

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though the French negociator laid great stress upon the compliance of the courts of Versailles and Madrid, on this occasion.

Mr.

“ returning the memorial I laid before you, in relation to the
“ interests of the court of Spain with respect to England, and
“ the note which I thought it my duty to communicate, with
“ regard to the intention of the King my master, concerning
“ the necessary steps to put a stop to hostilities in Germany.

“ The King, Sir, orders me to acquaint your excellency,
“ that as to what relates to the interest of the Catholic King,
“ his Majesty’s precaution expressed in the memorial which I
“ remitted to you, is in consequence of that sincerity which he
“ professes constantly to adopt in the course of all his negocia-
“ tions. The memorial which your excellency has returned
“ me, neither contains any menaces, nor any offer of media-
“ tion. No other sentiment can be inferred from it, than that
“ of the sincere desire which his Majesty entertains, that the
“ projected peace between France and England may be firm
“ and durable. Moreover, the King refers himself to his
“ Catholic Majesty concerning the manner in which this me-
“ morial was received and remitted; but his Majesty has
“ charged me to declare to your excellency, that so long as
“ Spain shall approve of it, his Majesty will interfere with the
“ interests of that crown, without desisting on account of a
“ repulse from the power who opposes his good offices.

“ With respect to the matter of the note, likewise returned
“ by your excellency, and which relates to the two necessary
“ conditions of the proposed expedient for evacuating the
“ countries subdued by his majesty’s arms, his majesty explains
“ himself fully on that article in the *Ultimatum*, in answer to
“ that of the court of London. His Majesty has ordered me
“ to declare further to you in writing, that he will rather sa-
“ crifice the power with God has given him, than conclude
“ any thing with his enemies, which may be contrary to the
“ engagements he has contracted, and that good faith in which
“ he glories. If England will undertake to yield no succour

“ to

Mr. Stanley and M. Bussy being recalled, Mr. PITT instantly prepared for a vigorous prosecution of the war; especially against Martinico, with an armament already provided, and thence against the Havannah, in case of a rupture, which seemed

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"to the King of Prussia, the King will engage, on the other
"hand, to afford none to his allies in Germany But his Ma-
"jesty will not adopt the liberty of succouring his allies with
"a supply of men, because he is sensible of the disadvantage
"which the present situation of the armies might occasion to
"the Empress Queen. His Majesty may stipulate not to act
"for the benefit of his allies, but he neither can or will con-
"sent to any condition which may be detrimental to them.

"It remains for me to observe to your excellency, how
"greatly my court was astonished, as well at the stile of the
"letter you wrote to me, as at the *Ultimatum* of England.
"This stile, which is so little conformable to the propositions
"of France, betrays the aversion of the court of London to
"peace. The King, who is very far from insisting on forms
"when the happiness of Europe is at stake, has used every
"endeavour, in the answer to the *Ultimatum*, which, without
"injury to the honour of his crown, were judged most effec-
"tual to recall the British court to sentiments of pacification :
"your excellency will judge, from the *Ultimatum* of France,
"that I am ordered to acquaint you with what facility the
"King, forgetting the imperative stile, so unfit for negocia-
"tion, which England makes use of in her answers, enters
"into the views of the British court, and endeavours, by
"the sacrifices he makes, to engage them to adopt the stipu-
"lations of a reasonable peace.

"If your excellency is desirous of having a conference with
"me on the subject of the *Ultimatum*, I will attend your com-
"mands, and I shall be very earnest to testify the disposition of
"my court, to make a happy issue of the negotiation on foot,
"as also the peculiar regard with which, &c.

"Signed DE BUSSY."

to

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to him unavoidable, with Spain. But the French agent had dealt his abilities so well, that he left behind him an opposition so strongly formed against the continuation of the war, and against Mr. PITT's administration, that about a fortnight before he resigned, he had not interest enough to send four ships of the line to Newfoundland; though he urged, and even insisted upon it. A measure so necessary, that we shall find that this was the apparent cause, that Newfoundland was left in a defenceless state, and our merchants, in that trade, sustained a very considerable loss.

Vigorous
proposals
by Mr.
PITT
against
Spain.

Mr. PITT fully convinced, not only by the observations he had made during the negotiation; but now more confirmed in his opinion by the treaty of union, which he had intimation of, to be signed by France and Spain, that Spain had resolved to assist France; and further, that Spain had formed pretensions and designs upon Portugal; he resolved to prevent the bad effects of their secret machinations, not by the cautious and slow steps of negotiation and embassy, but by a categorical demand of the fullest security and satisfaction of friendship and neutrality, supported by a powerful fleet on the coast of Spain, in a condition instantly to punish the Spaniards for refusing that satisfaction, to which we were entitled by the laws of nature and nations; to declare war, and to burn and destroy their coasts, and to intercept their treasures from South America, and thereby entirely disable the Spanish monarch from supplying France with the nerves and sinews of war.

Mr.

Mr. PITT's suspicion of the sincerity of the court of Spain, and friendship towards England, was not founded on these appearances only. He was justified in this vigorous counsel by a variety of facts, that proved the bad intentions of the court of Spain, and that they rather wanted opportunity and power, than inclination, to break with England. Eleven English ships at one time, with Spanish pilots on board, bound from St. Lucar, were taken by a French privateer, suffered to follow them from the same port, against the law of nations, which took them in shoal water and within land; and had interest enough in the court of Madrid to have them condemned for good prizes, notwithstanding all the applications of the British ambassador. The partiality shewn to the *Telemachus* privateer, which had the audacity to attack his Majesty's ship *Experiment*, is another fact that did not become a neutral power. For the Spaniards imprisoned the master and four men, who were sent ashore for necessaries, and to land some of the prisoners, under pretence that the capture was illegal: not to mention the extraordinary proceedings against the Antigallican privateer and her prize^u, and several other shameful breaches of neutrality^w. Neither was this advice without

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Grounds
of suspicion
against
Spain.

^u See page 16—19, &c. Vol. I.

^w We have a still more flagrant instance of the Spanish injustice, insolence and cruelty, in the case of the *Saltash* sloop of war. This vessel, in June 1760, after chasing ashore a French row-boat to the eastward of Almeria bay, took another French row-boat off of Mahon, which the captain of the *Saltash* sent

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without precedent. It is a precedent often to be met with in history.—The French have practised it both by sea and land, and always with success; our own nation commends it in Queen Eliza-

to anchor in the said bay, with a midshipman, and 14 men on board, who, with the prize, were all detained by the Spaniards, and the men made prisoners. The same fate followed the master and five men of the sloop's crew, who were sent with a boat to enquire after the prize, but who were, all of them, seized and thrown into the common jail, where they were beat and abused in a manner too shocking to be related; and where, if I am not misinformed, they still, to the number of 19, remain prisoners. This shameful breach of neutrality was followed by another, in the case of the Speedwell cutter, which after being chased into the harbour of Vigo, by the Achilles, a French man of war, was there declared to be a lawful prize. The commanding officer in the cutter was tried for the loss of the vessel, but was honourable acquitted by the court, who declared the capture to be illegal.

It is a truth too notorious to admit of dispute, that in Cadiz, in the harbour of Vigo, and at Cabaretta, a small castle situated in the gut of Gibraltar, lie whole fleets of French privateers and row-boats, in 30 of whom are not 30 Frenchmen, and in many none at all, the crews being, almost, entirely Spaniards and Genoese. It is an established custom among all nations, that when two ships, belonging to two powers at war, are lying in any neutral port; if one of them sails out of the harbour, the other is not to follow in less than 24 hours. At Cadiz, this regulation was so far from being practised towards the English, that the French ships were at liberty to follow a British ship as soon as they pleased; while the British were restrained to the usual time of 24 hours. The French row boats at Cabaretta, who most, if not all of them, are manned by Spaniards and Genoese, do infinite prejudice to the British victuallers bound for our garrison at Gibraltar; and great numbers of French privateers, are not only manned, but built by the Spaniards.

beth

beth and Oliver Cromwell ; and in that striking instance of British spirit of a more modern date, when in the year 1718 Sir George Byng saved our allies by the ruin of the Spanish navy off Messina, without any previous declaration of war, by the express and secret order of the magnanimous George I. A chastisement which the Spaniards brought upon themselves by their obstinacy and injustice. How much more justifiable would such a proceeding have been now, when it was to resent the injuries done to ourselves and to our nearest concerns ?

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But the infractions of neutrality we have mentioned, and the shuffling professions of Spain (for every negotiation is so, that is not attended with immediate effects) are of the very worst complexion, by the separate, and, as intended, secret treaty, concluded between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, on the 25th of August, 1761. Had the behaviour of Spain towards us been ever so unexceptionable, yet considering we were at war with France, our minister, by the practice of all wise governors, had a right to demand from Spain, a sight of that treaty ; which being refused, must give him very uneasy apprehensions.

What could be more approximating to hostility, and a daring the British arms, than to threaten a new war, to be aided by France, if we refused to settle their demands in the separate treaty with England's natural enemy ? The first was a claim of the prizes made during the present war under the Spanish flag. Which was both
ridiculous

Remarks.

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ridiculous and unjust : because, if those prizes were condemned, it must have been done by the maritime law ; which is in common to all nations, and admits of neither appeal nor redress. Besides how could a court, that had so lately acted with a despotic authority in the affair of the Antigallican, have the assurance to make such a demand ?—Their second was a demand of right for the Spanish nation to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; a demand, as modest as if England insisted upon the liberty of trading to the Spanish West Indies, to fish for pearl on their coasts, and to dig in the mines of Peru and Mexico. The fishery of Newfoundland is secured to England by the same tenure as the discoveries made by Columbus, and other adventures, to the crown of Spain. But the requisition to destroy the English establishments, found on the Spanish territory in the bay of Honduras, could be dictated by no other pen, than of such as were determined to try the issue by force of arms ; for, they must be sensible that no British minister would dare to take upon him to relinquish the national right to those establishments *.

The

* The connections or differences between Great Britain and Spain, are, of all others, the most dangerous to a British minister, because, of all others, they are least understood by the public. It is not quite an hundred and fifty years since that court gave general orders to its sea officers, to treat all ships not belonging to their own nation as pirates, who should fall in their way to the eastward of the Cape de Verde islands. Though the Spaniards would have purchased the friendship of

The tenderness we have expressed for Spain, ever since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, had never suffered

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of Cromwell at a very high rate ; yet when he proposed that the English should have the liberty to trade with the Spanish colonies in America, their ambassador told him, that he " might as well desire his master to pluck out one of his eyes." After the restoration, the friendship of England became of the highest importance to Spain, and, with great difficulty, in the year 1667, a treaty was concluded between the Spaniards and us, relating to matters of commerce. That treaty was not applicable to the American commerce of either nation, which rendered it necessary to form another treaty entirely applicable to that commerce, which was concluded in the year 1670, and is now commonly known by the name of the American treaty. This treaty, amongst other articles, has one of *uti possidetis*, by which the subjects of both powers were to remain in possession, in the territories, privileges, trade, and immunities they were in possession of at that time ; and by the 8th article of the same treaty, the subjects of neither power were to trade, or sail to the possessions of the other. This treaty is the basis of all that have been concluded between us and Spain, since that time. It establishes no right in the Spaniards, to limit our navigation, more than we have to limit theirs. It gives them no superiority in the American commerce, seas, or continent ; the terms being reciprocal to both nations. It is however, extremely plain from the conduct of that court, that their government, having served their own purposes in Europe, by the two treaties, never once considered the English, as being on the footing of an equality with their subjects in America ; and assumed an arbitrary power, (as the French have always done) of constructing the sense of the article of *uti possidetis*, to their own purposes. For though it was undeniable, even by the Spaniards themselves, that the English were in possession of the logwood trade, or as the former affected to call it, the Campeachy wood, for some years before the treaty of 1667 ; though it is certain that in the intermediate time, between the

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suffered us coolly to consult our own interest, so far as to obtain from her a definitive treaty, that could

conclusion of the treaty of 1667, and that of 1670, the English, thinking themselves safe under the former, had established a regular logwood trade at first near to Cape Catoche, and afterwards near Suma Santa, adjacent to the Laguna de Terminos, and to Trist and Beef Islands, in which they never were interrupted by the Spaniards; yet in the year 1672, the queen regent of Spain published a royal cedula, ordering "that such as should make invasion, or trade without licence in the ports of the Indies, should be proceeded against, as pirates." Under the words of this cedula, our logwood trade was held by the Spaniards to be illicit; and the vast fleets of defenceless merchantmen employed in it were, wherever they could be taken by the Spaniards, condemned and confiscated.

This was done by virtue of a mere quibble, upon the term *uti possidetis*. The court of Madrid could not deny we had possession of that trade, before the conclusion of the treaty of 1670; but they disputed the legality of that possession. It happened fortunately for the English that that legality was as clearly evinced, as the nature of the thing could admit of. It appeared that before the year 1667, the English had made no settlements for carrying on that trade, in any place where a Spaniard was visible; that they had exercised all acts, by which the possession of an unoccupied country can be legally ascertained, viz. those of clearing the fields, cutting down timber, building houses, and establishing fixed settlements. The truth is, that from that time to the accession of the family of Hanover to the throne of Great Britain, we had no opportunity of settling this matter, either amicably or otherwise. The variances that arose between our Charles the second and his parliaments, disabled his government. The reign of James II. was too short, and his views were too much employed other ways, for him to do any thing effectual in the matter. The unvarying maxim of King William's reign, was to keep well with Spain, and to cherish her in all events, which perhaps

could be a direction for any minister in negotiating with that court. I am far from saying, that

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is the greatest blast upon his memory. Witness the treatment which the Scotch adventurers at Darien met with, in a case that, with regard to the right of possession, was similar to that of the English logwood cutters. The reign of Queen Anne was still more improper for our entering either into a war or a negotiation on that account. A treaty with Charles on that head would have been ridiculous; and one with Philip was impracticable,

No sooner, however, did the Spanish monarchy, after the treaty of Utrecht, recover some strength and consistency with itself, than his government had recourse to its original maxims; our logwood trade, upon the bay of Campeachy, was attacked and destroyed; our ships seized or sunk, and our fellow subjects murdered.

It is certain that the two ministers under King George the first, I mean the Earls of Sunderland and Stanhope, who best understood our foreign interest, were too short-lived to do their country any service in the affair we now treat of. The great cast of Sir Robert Walpole's politicks tended towards peace, and had the spirit of the nation suffered him, he certainly would have made very considerable concessions to Spain. But though the Spaniards had, in a manner, refused to treat without making their exclusive right to the logwood trade in the bay of Campeachy a preliminary to the negotiation; and though some of the English ministers, both before and during his administration, had been so remiss in asserting our right of logwood cutting there, that the Spaniards considered it as a claim we had given up; Sir Robert, in all the warm debates about peace and war in the year 1738, never would venture to call the right of the English to it in question, though he favoured, as much as he could, the Spaniards in all their other claims. In the resolutions that were proposed that year, previous to the Spanish war, and which were presented to the House of Commons by Mr. P. now Earl of B. one of them]

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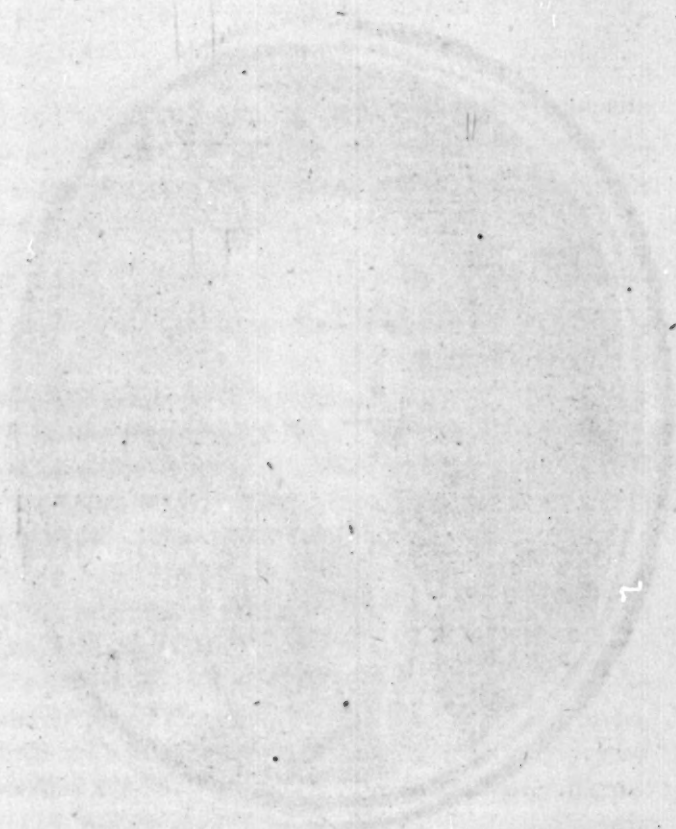
that this state of indecision, as to our interest with Spain, had been entirely owing to us. It is well known,

was, "That the subjects of Great Britain did hold and possess lands in the province of Yucatan in America, antecedent to, and at the time of the treaty of 1670; which treaty confirmed the right to each contracting party of such lands or places, as either of them did, at that time, hold and possess; and that the subjects of Great Britain then had, and have at all times since claimed, a right of cutting logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and enjoyed the same without interruption, till of late years; which right seems further particularly secured to us, by the manner in which the first article of the treaty of commerce at Utrecht, confirms the treaty of 1670, with these remarkable words:—"Without prejudice to any liberty or power, which the subjects of Great Britain enjoyed, either through right, sufferance or indulgence."

Sir Robert Walpole did not venture to dispute the truth of this resolution, though he knew it was inconsistent with the interest of the south-sea company. He objected, however, to the resolution, as being too peremptory and inflammatory, and proposed another, more mild and general, and which, as he himself said, left the subjects of Great Britain at liberty to pursue their claims to lands in the province of Yucatan, to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and to other privileges either of possession or navigation. The resolutions, which, on the same day and the same occasion, were agreed to by the House of Peers, make no particular mention of the logwood trade; but, in general, mention the unjust and groundless pretences of the Spaniards, upon which the English shipping and their cargoes, both before and after the treaty of Seville, had been violently seized and confiscated; alluding to the barbarous and illegal surprisal of the logwood ships, by the Spaniards, in the bay of Campeachy, soon after the accession of King George the First. The famous convention that followed, made no mention of this matter; so that it was understood to be one of the points that were referred to be settled by

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EARL TEMPLE.

known, that the Spanish court never could be brought formally to renounce a single claim, she ever advanced ; and though she might now and then make a temporary concession, she has been always uniform in her tenor of usurpation, haughtiness, and injustice. This is a most uncomfortable state for a minister, who is supposed to have the direction of foreign affairs, to live in ; especially, when that nation's partiality to our enemies, exceeds all bounds of neutrality.

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This partiality was so gross, that she seemed to consider her concerns, and those of France with us, as being the same ; though surely in their nature, nothing can be more distant. Though a Spanish ambassador resided at London, the French agent was entrusted to negotiate for Spain ; and upon what ? not upon any point, that ever can concern France, but upon some differences of an old standing, which had not yet been finally ad-

by plenipotentiaries ; and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle left the affair where it found it, and where it now rests.

This being a general, but true, representation of an affair, so interesting to this nation ; what is a British minister to do, if the Spaniards, in the bay of Honduras, are, at this very time, treating the English subjects there as interlopers and pirates ? The passive conduct of Sir Robert Walpole towards Spain, was the most blameable part of his foreign administration, and the most effectual charge that was brought against him. Was the Right Honourable Mr. PITT to be considered by the nation in the dangerous character of his Majesty's first minister, and yet tamely to suffer such a proceeding on the part of Spain to take place ? would not this have been considered, and justly too, as tacitly giving up an important national right ?

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justed, between the Spaniards and the British court. What those differences are, may readily be learned, when we reflect, that it is now eighty nine years, since the Spaniards attempted to deprive us of the logwood trade, in the bay of Honduras, though our right to it, was clear and indisputable. About the year 1715, the same attempt was renewed, in the most inhuman atrocious manner, in a time of perfect tranquillity; though by the very first article of the treaty of commerce, between us and Spain, concluded the 28th of November, 1713, the treaty of 1670 was ratified "without any prejudice, however, (says the words of the treaty) to any liberty, or power, which the subjects of Great Britain enjoyed before either through right, sufferance, or indulgence." Notwithstanding this express stipulation Spain, at this very time, has had the modesty to employ the French agent to tell us, that before the American treaty, we had no such right, sufferance or indulgence. Thus our differences are reduced to the single fact of possession, which has been as clearly proved in our favour, as the nature of the thing can admit of; and, indeed, more fully and unexceptionably, than could have been expected, in a matter, attended with such difficulties.

The right of no search or visit upon the American seas, is another of those old differences, not finally adjusted between our court, and that of Spain. Our minister, perhaps, thought that they had been adjusted so much to our own satisfaction, by the resolutions of both houses of parliament,

ment, preceding the last declaration of war with Spain, and by that declaration itself, that he could not, consistently with the honour and interest of his country, and his own safety, admit that claim on the part of Spain, even to be debated, far less questioned. That court, however, still went on, as if all the facts lay unquestionably in her favour, by committing the most notorious breaches of that neutrality, which she ought to observe; and even that neutrality gave her protection. What is a minister to do in this case? he cannot treat, because the other party is actually intractable. At the same time, he cannot sit at the helm of affairs, and see such acts of partiality and injustice acquiesced in, and multiplied. Only two methods, therefore, are left him; the first and most eligible is, to resent them with quickness, spirit and efficacy; and if that is not allowed, to RESIGN.

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It was necessary to pay due attention to these particulars; because we shall see that they produced two extraordinary effects: viz. The resignation of Mr. PITT; and a Spanish war.

Mr. Pitt's
interest
declines.

When Mr. PITT seemed to stand most in need of support from the friends of his King and country, to counteract the intrigues and designs of their enemies, we find him almost deserted in the cabinet, and beset by opponents, trumpeting by their emissaries, in every place of public resort, that *we were undone by our successes*. Therefore, perceiving that his counsel and measures were not attended to, nor adopted as usual, and that it would

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His reso-
lution to
resign.

be impossible for him any longer to serve his King and country with the honour and advantages as heretofore, except his influence might continue in the measure proposed above, he declared ' that ' this was the time for humbling the whole house ' of Bourbon : that, if this opportunity were let ' slip, it might never be recovered ; and if he ' could not prevail in this instance, He was re- ' solved that this should be the last time he would ' sit in that council. He thanked the ministers of ' the *late* King for their support ; said, he him- ' self was called into the ministry by the people, ' to whom he considered himself as accountable ' for his conduct, and he would no longer remain ' in a situation, which made him responsible for ' measures, he was no longer allowed to guide.'

His rea-
sons.

Lord Temple, his brother-in-law, and Lord Privy-Seal, supported this grand and leading motion. All the rest opposed it. Mr. PITT now saw his influence in the state entirely at an end ; and resolved on resigning a place of trust, when he was no longer useful in the execution of it ; but must either obstruct and embarrass^y the mea-
sures

^y His resigning under the circumstances he found himself to be, was the most effectual service he could perform to his country, and entirely agreeable to the maxims of her constitution ; as explained, and understood, since the revolution.— Very little reasoning may suffice, to prove this proposition. Unanimity in council, and in parliament, is the glory, and may be called the characteristic, of his Majesty's auspicious reign. But it is absurd to imagine, that that unanimity could subsist, while a difference in opinion prevailed between the

first

asures carried on by others, if he opposed them ;
or sacrifice his own fame and honour², if he con-
curred

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first minister of state, (supposing the right honourable gentleman to have been so) and all the other servants of the crown, his own brother-in-law excepted. The vast pre-possession of the public, in the right honourable gentleman's favour, must have always influenced many, both within, and without doors to have adopted his sentiments, while he delivered them, as a minister. The other servants of the crown oppose him. The consequence is, first a reply ; then a rejoinder ; then speech upon speech ; till, as happened under the tory ministry, and that of Sir Robert Walpole, the whole secrets of the cabinet are laid open, our enemies become the masters of all our measures, and we ourselves a laughing-stock to all Europe. Though I am as much of opinion, as any man can be, that a faithful British minister ought to deliver the same sentiments in parliament, that he does at the council board ; yet a member of parliament may, very consistently with the duty he owes to his country, sometimes make a small sacrifice of his private opinion to unanimity. This is what a minister, I mean, a *directing minister*, cannot do ; especially when he meets with an opposition. The very opposition breaks the unanimity, and he is obliged, if I may so express myself, to defend his measures when once he has taken them, at all events. He can observe no medium ; for his situation does not admit of a neutrality.

² Other officers of the crown, when they commence ministers, may be considered as volunteers in the service. A secretary of state, the moment he enters upon his post, is an enlisted soldier. When he receives pay, he must do his duty ; only with this difference, that he has the privilege of quitting the service when he pleases ; but having quitted it, the parallel holds true ; for he may be called to account, both for the omissions and commissions he was guilty of, while he was upon his post. This is one of the great acquisitions we have made by the revolution. While the minister has the privilege of retiring when he pleases, from public business, his country has the

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curred in them contrary to his own conviction, and what he apprehended to be for the interest of his country. Therefore when Mr. PITT and Earl Temple took their leaves of the last council summoned to deliberate on the conduct of Spain, the late Earl Granville, then lord president, rose up, and with a nervous and manly eloquence, he expressed a very high opinion of Mr PITT's wisdom, penetration, abilities, honour and integrity; and, in a very particular and emphatical

the power, at the same time, of overhauling his conduct, if we may be allowed the expression. A minister cannot now, as formerly, plead "I was over ruled by the will of my master. I was out-voted at the board. I was brow-beaten in the cabinet." He has an easy remedy for all these evils, which is comprehended in a single word, and that is, he may RESIGN. This is the only safety any British minister has; and it is a refuge, that is always in his power to command.

But a secretary of state is under a greater necessity than any other minister is, for taking shelter in this refuge; because of the directive power, which by the nature of his office, he is obliged to exercise. Every dispatch he issues from his office, is an evidence against him; and was his master, and all his council, to concur in a measure, which he disapproved of; he cannot be forced to put the seals of his office to it. In fact, though the lord chancellor is said to be the keeper of the King's conscience in matters of law; the secretary of state is, certainly, the counsellor of his judgment, in affairs of government. He has no rule for the exercise of his office, but an upright intention and a sound judgement. The matters on which he is consulted, are without the cognizance of law, and relate entirely to the prerogative, which is to be defined only by itself. This is a consideration, which renders the post of a secretary of state, more dangerous, and ticklish, than that of any other minister in this country.

manner

manner, spoke of the innumerable and almost insurmountable difficulties, which Mr. PITT and Lord Temple had all along to struggle with^a. And consonant to his opinion, his most gracious Majesty was pleased to signify his real esteem for Mr. PITT, by immediately and graciously granting him 3000 l. per ann. and conferring a noble title upon his lady^b and his issue.

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Let us stop one moment and revere the memory of a minister, who never had his equal, in the opinion of the nation, for integrity and virtue. He kept no levees for sycophants and knaves to wheedle and to dive into his intentions. He admitted no trifling company to interrupt his thoughts: he was embarrassed by no private connections, nor engaged in any intrigue. He never abused his power by preferring an undeserving person: and was exceeding scrupulous how he received recommendations: he despised those idle claims of rank and seniority, when they were not supported by services, which alone could entitle them to publick trust. He confided in ability and worth wherever he found them, without any regard to wealth, family, parliamentary interest or connection. He was a fast friend to moral virtue. He detested corruption. His soul was above

His character attempted.

^a It is proper in this place to apprise the public, That the speech published and said to be delivered on this occasion by the president of the council, was an infamous falsehood, and calculated to slander the fairest characters.

^b Baroness of Chatham, and Baron of Chatham to her heir male,

meanness :

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meanness : little arts belong to narrow minds ; his mind was extensive, and soared to business of a more important nature, by which he made his country great. Like a true Englishman, he was open, bold, free, and honest. He was punctual in his office, and such was his attention to business, that the most minute occurrences passed not without his examination. He had wisdom to plan, and courage to execute. He honoured the people, and listened to their united voice, which he was never afraid to bring to the ear of his sovereign. His abilities and wisdom spread terror throughout the enemy ; and they preserved harmony with our allies :—the faith of Great Britain was held inviolably sacred. He exerted the power, and preserved the dignity of Great Britain in a manner unexampled. He was afraid of no state ; would brook with no affronts ; was ever ready to resent injuries. The public treasure he applied, as far as his direction extended, to the publick interest. He never sought to avoid a war, in order to apply the sums necessary for carrying it on, to the preservation of his power in the ministry. His early and vigorous resolution for attacking Spain is the strongest proof of it. Conscious of his own honesty and integrity, he never sought to conceal any part of his conduct ; but, on the contrary, was always ready and forward to lay all his measures before the public. He spoke his mind freely on all occasions. He neither disssembled, nor encouraged dissimulation ; and yet he was of such unshaken secrecy, that, during the whole of his administration.

ministration, he gave no opportunity to the most willing, of discovering his designs to the enemy. In his hours of leisure he conversed with men of knowledge and experience : he sought information ; and by it, together with his own unwearied assiduity and amazing penetration, he regulated the great machine of government ; ever attached to the interest of the people and the honour of the crown. In a word, he was the spirit of the war, the genius of England, and the comet of his age ^b.

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Never was a minister so universally beloved, nor so universally regretted^c : posterity may be certified

^b See the Review of Mr. PITT's Administration, page 148.

^c Of which we have inserted these two examples.

Copy of the thanks to the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT, from the court of Common-council of the city of London, October 22, 1761.

"Resolved, That the thanks of this court be given to the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT, for the many great and eminent services rendered this nation during the time he so ably filled the high and important office of one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, and to perpetuate their grateful sense of his merits, who by the vigour of his mind, had not only roused the antient spirit of this nation, from the pusillanimous state, to which it had been reduced ; but, by his integrity and steadiness uniting us at home, had carried its reputation in arms had commerce to a height unknown before, by our trade accompanying our conquests in every quarter of the globe.

Therefore, the city of London, ever steadfast in their loyalty to their King, and attentive to the honour and prosperity of their

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fied from the addresses of thanks presented to him from the principal cities and incorporated towns in Great Britain, for his brilliant, spirited and upright administration.

Its influence.

This resignation and its motives had such an effect upon the nation, that they began to apprehend, it might have too great an influence upon the councils in regard to war, and give the enemy fresh spirits to attempt to renew the negotiations of peace, to their advantage. Therefore the city of London, at the same time they addressed Mr. PITT in his state of resignation, instructed their representatives in parliament, and thereby gave the administration the strongest assurances of their resolution to enable his Majesty to continue the war

their country, cannot but lament the national loss of so able and so faithful a minister, at this critical conjuncture."

Mr. PITT having resigned the seals, on the 5th of October 1761, an assembly (or common-council) was holden in the city of Chester, on the 30th day of the same month, wherein,

It was unanimously resolved,—That the thanks of the house be given to the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT, lately one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, for his eminent and effectual services to his King and country and that he is desired to be assured, that this ancient and loyal city does most heartily concur in the opinion and recent resolution of the very respectable metropolis.

As also, That we, the citizens of Chester, do deeply share in the general anxiety and concern, that Great Britain by a rational resignation, is, at this time, deprived of a minister, whose salutary councils, steady conduct, and truly patriotic spirit, had retrieved the honour of these nations, had rendered us happily unanimous at home, and gloriously formidable to our adversaries abroad.

with

with vigour, in case they would not hearken to adequate conditions of peace^d.

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In

^d *The representation of the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, to Sir Robert Ladbrooke, Sir Richard Glyn, Knt. and Bart. William Beckford, Esq; and the Honourable Thomas Harley, this city's representatives in parliament.*

We the Lord Mayor, aldermen and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, think it at this time our duty, as it is our natural and undoubted right, to lay before this city's representatives in the great council of the nation soon to be assembled in parliament, what we desire and expect from you, in discharge of the great trust and confidence we your fellow-citizens have reposed in you.

That you take the earliest opportunity to use your utmost endeavours to obtain the repeal or amendment of the late act, intituled, An Act for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors, in respect of the inconveniences arising from the compulsive clause, by which a door has been opened to the greatest frauds and perjuries, and, if continued, must become the destruction of all private credit, so essential to the support of a trading people.

That you concur in and promote all necessary measures for establishing good oeconomy in the distribution of the national treasure: and for that purpose, that you endeavour to have a committee appointed, in order to enquire into any abuses, which may have arisen in the application of it, and to prevent any frauds or illicit practices in the management thereof.

That you entertain just sentiments of the importance of the conquests made this war by the British arms, at the expence of so much blood and treasure, and that you will, to the utmost of your power and abilities, oppose all attempts for giving up such places, as may tend to lessen our present security, or by restoring the naval power of France, render us subject to fresh hostilities from that natural enemy: particularly that the sole and exclusive right of our acquisitions, in North America and the fisheries, be preserved to us.

As

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Affairs in
the East
Indies.

Siege of
Pondicherry re-
newed.

In the course of this summer the government had the satisfaction of hearing of further successes, obtained by our arms in the East Indies. As soon as the weather appeared settled, and it was judged that the rainy season was over, Colonel Coote resolved to proceed with the siege of Pondicherry*. The blockade, which had been formed for several months by sea and land, had greatly distressed the garrison, by cutting off all communications for supplies of provisions. Famine and mutiny began to threaten their internal destruction. Therefore the Colonel made no doubt that the town would become an easy prey, by increasing their cause of discontent, and by fatiguing them with constant alarms. For this purpose batteries were erected at a distance, to play continually on several parts of

As the present happy extinction of parties, the harmony and unanimity of all his Majesty's subjects, their zeal and affection to their native King, and the great increase of commerce, are most convincing proofs to us of this nation's ability still to carry on, and vigorously prosecute the present just and necessary war; it is our desire that you concur in giving his Majesty such supplies, as shall enable him to pursue all those measures, which may promote the true interest of his kingdoms, and place him above the menaces of any power that may pretend to give laws, or prescribe limits, to the policy and interests of this nation: but as it is apparent, that our enemies flatter themselves with the hopes of exhausting our strength, by the immense expence in which we are at present engaged, we therefore require you, in the further prosecution of this war, to support such measures as may frustrate those expectations, yet to act with the utmost vigour in the reduction of their remaining colonies, so as to obtain a safe and honourable peace.

* See page 28. Vol. V.

the

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the town, so as to enfilade the works of the garri-
son, and cover his men and guns from any certain
fire of the enemy. Accordingly the following
batteries were traced out, one (called the Prince
of Wales's) for four guns, near a breach made on
the north side, to enfilade the Great Street, which
runs north and south through the White-town ;
one for four guns and two mortars, to the north-
west quarter, at 1000 yards distance, to enfilade
the north face of a large counterguard, before
the north west bastion, called the Duke of Cum-
berland's : a third, called Prince Edward's, for
two guns, to the southward, at 1200 yards di-
stance, to enfilade the streets from south to north
so as to cross the fire from the northern battery ;
and a fourth to the south-west, called Prince
William's, for two guns and one mortar, at 1000
yards distance, in order to destroy the guns in St.
Thomas's redoubt, and to ruin the vessels and
boats near it. On the 8th of December, at mid-
night, they were all opened together, and con-
tinued firing till day-light. On the 9th, the ene-
my kept up a warm fire on these batteries, but
with out doing much damage to them. On the
25th, Admiral Stevens, with four ships of the
line, arrived off Pondicherry, having parted com-
pany with Admiral Cornish and his division, on
the 16th instant, in blowing weather. On the
26th, a battery, called the Hanover, was be-
gun, for ten guns and three mortars, to the north
ward, at 450 yards distance from the town, against
the north west counterguard and curtain.

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These

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These approaches contributed so greatly to increase the miseries of them in the town, that were almost famished, that the number of deserters increased daily. Yet M. Lally determined, if possible to spin out time till he might expect assistance from Europe, both of men and necessaries of life. He drove 1400 poor helpless inhabitants out of the town and when they were ordered to halt by the advanced guard of Sepoys, he ordered both the cannon and musketry to fire upon them from the walls; by which barbarous action three of them were killed and many wounded. These miserable inhabitants were kept three days in this deplorable state, having nothing to feed on but the roots of grass, and fired upon as often as they attempted to return. So that Colonel Coote permitted them to pass his guard, and to disperse about the country.

Hitherto every day gave fresh hopes of reducing the town without blood-shed; but on the first of the new year, there happened a violent storm of wind and rain, which almost ruined the batteries, destroyed three ships of the line, and damaged most of the rest. The Duke of Aquitaine, foundered about two leagues to the southward; and the Sunderland about two leagues to the northward of Pondicherry, and most of the crews perished. The Newcastle and Queenborough with the Protector fireship, were drove ashore and lost, a little to the southward of Ariancopang, but the people were saved, with most of the stores and provisions, and all the ordnance: and with the help





COLONEL COOTE.

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help of masts, yards and stores, saved from the wreckt ships, and the assistance of the squadron, they were in a few days completely fitted, and put in a proper state for service.

M. Lally endeavoured to profit himself by this disaster with the utmost speed. He no sooner saw the port open, but he dispatched advice of his supposed deliverance to Mr. Raymond, French resident at Pullicat, and pressed him most earnestly to send him provisions. "The English squadron, says he, is no more. Out of the 12 ships they had in our road, seven are lost, crews and all: four others are dismasted: only one frigate has escaped. Therefore don't lose a moment to send us chelingoes upon chelingoes, loaded with rice. Tell the Dutch that they have nothing to fear now: besides, according to the rights of nations, they are only not to send us provisions *themselves*, and we are no longer blocked up by sea. The saving of Pondicherry has been in your power once already: if you miss the present opportunity, it will be intirely your fault. Don't forget also some small chelingoes. Offer great rewards. I expect 17000 Marattoes within these four days. In short, risk all, attempt all, force all, and send us some rice, should it be but half a garse at a time."

This letter, dated the 2d of January, 1761, at Pondicherry, from Mr. Lally, was intercepted by the English; and Admiral Stevens, who had the good fortune to weather out the storm, without

A. D. 1761. suffering the least damage, returning to his station before Pondicherry, on the 4th, immediately dispatched circular letters to the Dutch and Danish settlements to acquaint them, that, notwithstanding M Lally's representations, he was still in possession of 11 ships of the line and two frigates, in condition for service, and holding the blockade of Pondicherry : and that it being contrary to the laws of nations for a neutral power to give any place relief that was closely invested and blockaded by land and sea, he was determined to seize every vessel or boat, that should attempt to throw any provisions into that place. Which menace had its due effect.

Admiral
Stevens
threatens
the Dutch
&c.

The batteries being repaired, and the fleet refitted and returned to their stations in the road, the army continued their approaches without interruption : the garrison having neither power nor spirits to disturb their works ; though they kept up a faint fire till the 15th, when it was entirely silenced, and gave the besiegers an opportunity of beginning a trench, to contain their royal mortars and three guns, for the more speedy demolition of the demibastion, and ravelin of Madrafs gate.

M. Lally
sends pro-
posals for
a surren-
der.

When, in a fit of despair, M. Lally, the man who had publicly vowed the ruin of the English settlements in India, and had actually destroyed those in his power, became a suppliant, and that same evening sent out Colonel Duree of the royal artillery ; the chief of the jesuits, and two civilians, with proposals for delivering up the gar-
rison

rison': but Colonel Coote, thoroughly acquainted with the miserable condition of the place, which had

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1761.

'Translation of M. Lally's proposals for the delivery of the garrison.'

The taking of Chandernagore, contrary to the faith of treaties, and of that neutrality which has always subsisted between all European nations, and namely between the two nations in this part of India; and that immediately after a signal service which the French nation had rendered the English, not only in taking no part against them with the Nabob of Bengal, but in receiving them in their settlements, to give them time to recover from their first losses (as appears by the letters of thanks from Mr. Pigot himself, and from the council of Madras to that of Pondicherry) added to the formal refusal of fulfilling the conditions of a cartel, agreed upon between our respective masters, though it was at first accepted by Mr. Pigot, and the commissaries were named on both sides to go to Sadras, to settle amicably the difficulties which might occur in its execution, put it out of my power, with respect to my court, to make or propose to Mr. Coote any capitulation for the town of Pondicherry.

The King's troops and those of the company, surrender themselves, for want of provisions, prisoners of war to his Britannic Majesty, upon the terms of the cartel, which I reclaim equally for all the inhabitants of Pondicherry, as well as for the exercise of the Roman religion, the religious houses, hospitals, chaplains, surgeons, servants, &c. referring myself to the decision of our two courts for reparation proportioned to the violation of so solemn a treaty.

Accordingly Mr. Coote may take possession, to-morrow morning at eight o'clock, of the gate of Villenour; and after to-morrow at the same hour of that of Fort St. Louis: and as he has the power in his own hands, he will dictate such ulterior dispositions to be made, as he shall judge proper.

I demand, merely from a principle of justice and humanity, that the mother and sisters of Raza Saib be permitted to seek

A. D. 1761. had no more than one day's provision left, would not grant any other conditions than to surrender them-

an asylum where they please, or that they remain prisoners among the English, and be not delivered up into Mahomed Ally Cawn's hand, which are still red with the blood of the husband and father, that he has spilt, to the shame indeed of those who gave them up to him, but not less to the shame of the commander of the English army, who should not have allowed such a piece of barbarity to be committed in his camp.

As I am tied up by the cartel in the declaration which I made to Mr. Coote, I consent that the gentlemen of the council of Pondicherry may make their own representations to him, with regard to what may more immediately concern their own private interests, as well as the interest of the inhabitants of the colony.

Done at Fort Louis, off Pondicherry, the 15th day of January, 1761.

Signed LALLY.

To Colonel Coote, commander in chief of his Britannic Majesty's forces before Pondicherry.

A true copy. FRANCIS ROWLAND, sec;

Colonel Coote's answer to M. Lally's proposals.

The particulars of the capture of Chandernagore having been long since transmitted to his Britannic Majesty, by the officer to whom the place surrendered, Colonel Coote cannot take cognizance of what passed on that occasion; nor can he admit the same as any way relative to the surrender of Pondicherry.

The disputes which have arisen concerning the cartel concluded between their Britannic and most Christian Majesties, being as yet undecided, Colonel Coote has it not in his power to admit, that the troops of his most Christian Majesty, and those of the French East India company, shall be deemed prisoners of war to his Britannic Majesty, upon the terms of that cartel;

themselves prisoners of war to be used as he should think consistent with the interest of his Britannic Majesty. Accordingly a company of English grenadiers took possession of the Villenour gate, at eight o'clock on the 16th in the morning: and at the same time, on the 17th, Colonel Coote, accompanied by rear Admiral Cornish, and the Captains Haldane and Tinker, took possession of the citadel, on the part of both services, as they were so connected together in the reduction of this important conquest to his Majesty's arms, and to the East India company in particular: after a blockade and tedious siege of eight months.

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1761.

Surrend-
ers at
discretion

cartel; but requires that they surrender themselves prisoners of war, to be used as he shall think consistent with the interests of the King his master. And Colonel Coote will shew all such indulgences as are agreeable to humanity.

Colonel Coote will send the grenadiers of his regiment, between the hours of eight and nine o'clock to-morrow morning, to take possession of the Villenour gate; and the next morning, between the same hours, he will also take possession of the gate of Fort St. Lewis.

The mothers and sisters of Raza Saib shall be escorted to Madras, where proper care shall be taken for their safety; and they shall not, on any account, be delivered into the hands of Nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn.

Given at the head-quarters of the camp before Pondicherry the 15th of January, 1761.

Signed EYRE COOTE.

To Arthur Lalley, Esq; lieutenant-general and commander in chief of his most Christian Majesty's forces in India, at Pondicherry.

A true copy. FRANCIS ROWLAND, sec.

A. D. 1761. The number of prisoners amounted to 2067, of whom 1707 were soldiers, and the rest able to bear arms. And the quantity of military stores, arms, artillery and ammunition was prodigious.

The

Return of brass and iron ordnance, carriages, powder, shot, and small arms, found on the works of Pondicherry, town, citadel, and artillery park.

Brass ordnance 8; serviceable, two unserviceable; iron ordnance 436 serviceable, 48 unserviceable; brass howitzers 13 serviceable; iron howitzers two serviceable; brass mortars 82 serviceable; iron mortars seven serviceable; carriages of different sorts 326 serviceable; 58 unserviceable; mortar beds 46 serviceable, wood; mortar beds seven serviceable, iron; double-headed shot 182; lead shot of different nature 60,264; shells and hand granadoes 22,599; grape shot 1095; 207 barrels of powder of 200lb. each serviceable; 1488½ barrels of powder of 100lb. each serviceable; total of powder 230,520lb. barrels of powder unserviceable 56; powder in cartridges of different nature 40,330lb; exclusive of small arms and ammunition: ammunition fixed for wall pieces 2907, muskets 368,640, carbines 98,980, pistols 46,830, gingalls 20,700, muskets new with bayonets 1550, ditto new without bayonets 315; ditto with locks, mostly bad 2351; ditto unserviceable between seven and 8000; English wall pieces, good 18; ditto bad, eight; French wall pieces, good 190; gingle pieces, old 73; carbines 35; fuzes long, new 120; ditto old 50; ditto short 30; pistols, new pairs 600; ditto old pairs 310; hangers, new 3200; sabres, new 1000; broad swords and sabres mixed 195; bayonets, new 3000; ditto old, 500; pole axes 1200; cartouch boxes, new 3000; ditto, old 2000; flints, about 20 hogheads, musket balls, six barrels; ditto 80 kegs; iron ram rods about 12,000; copper drums 15; wood ditto 17; espartoons, old 28; cartridge boxes of different sizes 20,860; a small quantity of fixed ammunition; ladles of different sizes 265; sponges ditto, mostly old, 430; lead aprons of different sizes 363; wad-hooks ditto 50; grates

for

The conduct of M. Lally towards Fort St. David ; A. D. 1761.
 his declared intention against all the English settlements, to dismantle and to ruin them ; and the impossibility of keeping the power of France in those regions within moderate bounds, so long as they might entertain any hopes of recovering that strong fortress by a treaty of peace, determined the fate of its fortifications also : which have been so effectually destroyed, by the powder taken in the town, that there is not left one stone upon another, nor so much as the appearance of what it has been.

Thus Colonel Coote gave the final blow to the French power in India, and remained the unrivalled master of the coast of Coromandel. Having extirpated the French power, he despised the neutral nations, and was resolved to keep the princes of the country in subjection. There was nothing to oppose our commanding the whole trade from the Ganges to the Indies, the most profitable commerce in the whole world, except a little French settlement, called Myhie^a, on the coast of Malabarⁱ, about 400 miles from Pondicherry.

for heating shot 2 ; with a large quantity of musket slings, buff belts, armourers, smiths and carpenters tools, locks and other lumber.

Pondicherry,
 Jan. 27, 1761.

Signed CHARLES MILTON, military
 commissary-general

E. CHANDLER, commissary of
 artillery.

^a Situate about thirty miles north of Tillicherry.

ⁱ The coasts of Coromandel and Malabar form a peninsula, like a sugar-loaf, of a prodigious extent, with its points to the

A. D. 1761. cherry. But this expedition was left to the care of the government of Bombay, which sent a body of forces, under Major Hector Monro, and he took his measures so well, in concert with Thomas Hodges, Esq; governor at Tillicherry, that Myhie surrendered, with all its dependencies on the coast of Malabar, on the 10th of February 1761, without much difficulty, though it had been fortified with upwards of 200 pieces of cannon ^k.

The conquest of Myhie.

There

the southward, both sides of which are washed by the Indian Ocean, that of Malabar is to the east, the coast of Coromandel is to the west.

^k *Proposals of capitulation made by M. Louet, Commander in Chief of the French garrison at Myhie, for the surrender of that place and its dependencies, to Thomas Hodges, Esq; commander in chief of Tillicherry and its dependencies, and Hector Monro, Esq; major and commander of the King's and Company's troops encamped for the expedition against Myhie, with the conditions, on which they are accepted on the part of his Britannic Majesty.*

The following are conditions which we consent to, in the name of his most Christian Majesty, to surrender the fort of Myhie, and its dependencies, on the coast of Malabar.

I. The exercise of the Roman Catholic religion shall not be disturbed in any shape. All the churches and Chapels, with their ornaments, are to be preserved from all insults; and that the Padres shall have leave to exercise their functions unmolested.

“Granted.”

II. The garrison to march out with the honours of war, drums beating, colours flying, each man with a ball in his mouth, four field pieces, with one mortar, and twelve rounds: to march to Tillicherry, accompanied by a detachment of English,

There still was a cloud to be dispersed in Bengal. When Chandernagore was reduced by the English

A. D.

1761.

English, and there to be embarked on board of a ship for the Island of Bourbon, at the expence of the English; but in case the dominion of that island should be changed, the ship, after taking in water and refreshments, is to proceed with them to the Cape of Good Hope, where they are to be landed with their arms, cannon, mortar and appurtenances, and then to go where they please. But if the English do not chuse to comply with that, they are to land us in France with our arms and baggage.

“Granted; except that the colours, arms, cannon, mortar and ammunition, shall be delivered up in Tillicherry; also in case it should be more convenient to transport them for Europe from Tillicherry, than from Bombay, or the Coromandel coast; provided, nevertheless, that should any European officer or soldier chuse to enter into the English service, they are to be at full liberty, that is, if the entertaining of such person be agreeable to the English.”

III. All deserters whatsoever shall have a general pardon and not be molested in any shape.

“Granted; except Thomas Palmer, of Colonel Parslow's regiment, if he should be found in garrison.”

IV. All persons, civil and military, as well white as black, shall have their moveable effects and domesticks preserved without molestation; and the English are to put safe-guards for the security thereof, as they may desire.

“Granted; understanding it to mean wearing apparel, and household furniture.”

V. All the inhabitants, of what nation or religion soever, shall remain in their possessions, rights and privileges, unmolested in any shape.

VI. All the private inhabitants, both whites and blacks, that shall be found to have possessions of lands and tenements, are to be suffered to enjoy them quietly, with liberty to each of them to remain or remove, as they think proper.

“Article

A. D. 1761. English in 1757, Mr. Law retired, at the head of a party of French fugitives ; which party, from time to time, was increased to two hundred. With these he set up for a partizan, ready to enlist with any prince of the country for subsistence, till opportunities.

Mr. Law's
enter-
prizes.

" Article V. and VI. granted ; subject at all times to such annual rents or taxes, as the English company may think proper to levy on them."

VII. That proper commissaries shall be named to receive the effects, books, papers and accounts belonging to the French company.

" Granted ; understanding the word effects to include provisions and warlike stores of all kinds."

VIII. We consent to surrender to the English, all our forts belonging to the French company to the northward, on the above conditions, should they be in our possession at this time.

" Granted ; provided it be clearly proved, that the French have neither any direct or indirect property in such of them as are at this precise time in their possession ; otherwise they are to cause them to be delivered up in the same manner as those adjacent to Myhie."

IX. The French factory at Callicut, shall be suffered quietly to enjoy the privileges of neutrality observed there.

" Granted."

X. That coalies and boats shall be allowed them to transport the effects belonging to the gentlemen of the garrison, as well civil as military.

" Granted."

XI. All the sick and infirm shall be commodiously transported, with a surgeon, medicines, and servants belonging to the hospital, at the charge of the English.

" Granted."

XII. On the foregoing conditions we agree to deliver up all the fortifications of Myhie, and its districts, on any day to be appointed.

The

portunity might serve to spirit up a powerful alliance against the English. He threw himself into the heart of the Mogul's dominions, and joined sometimes one prince and sometimes another, as best suited his scheme and interest; and gained great reputation in every service. This recommended him at last to Sha Zaddah, who was endeavouring to recover the great Mogul's throne, from which his father had been driven by the Morattas, and some rebellious provinces; and served him with so much success, in the reduction of several provinces to his obedience, that Mr. Law found it no great difficulty to persuade Sha Zaddah to turn his arms against Bengal, which was one of the provinces, that would not acknowledge him for their sovereign. Sha Zaddah entered Bengal with 80,000 Indians and 200 Frenchmen; whose

A. D.
1761.

Engages
the Mogul
to attack
the Eng-
lish in
Bengal.

Strength
of both
armies

The present treaty so made and settled, with duplicates, is signed by us this 10th day of February, 1761, in Tillicherry and Myhie respectively.

THOMAS HODGES.	PICAT DE LA MOTTE.
HECTOR MONRO.	DE LAULANHOIRY.
LOUET.	HOUSSE.
PLOWSQUELLY.	MACIN.
DE PALMAS.	TROREL.
DROUET.	FYITTY.

N. B. The number of guns at Myhie, are, viz.

At Fort St. George	52
Myhie	58
Candi	27
Dauphin	32
Five adjacent forts to the northward	150

319

princi-

A. D. principal view was to extirpate the English, and
1761. restore the interest and commerce of their own nation. This could not be looked upon with indifference by the English. So that, though it was a matter of indifference to them, who had the sovereign right, should their peace and property be secured; the presence of Mr. Law and his French corps, made it necessary for them to take the part of the Nabob of Bengal. To whose army of 20,000 blacks, the company at Calcutta joined 2500 Sepoys and 500 Europeans, under the command of Major John Carnack. These two armies encountered near a place called Guya; and the French, about eleven o'clock, made the attack, like men, that were determined to conquer or die in the action. But the English, like an impregnable wall, received the monsieurs with such firmness, and pressed forward with so much vigour, that they forced them to retreat in confusion, to abandon their cannon, and to leave about 80 soldiers and seven officers prisoners; amongst whom was Mr. Law himself, and part of their baggage. This fate of the French discouraged Zaddah's troops, who fled, after the example of their European auxiliaries, and about two, yielded the victory and the field of battle to the handful of English. The Indian troops, commanded by the Mogul in person, might have prevented much blood, which was shed in the pursuit, had their commander, on this occasion, come to an *ecclaircissement* with the English, who had no cause of enmity, or motive to wage war with the Mogul, abstract from his

con-

**Engage-
ment.**

**English
victorious**

**Mr Law
taken pri-
soner.**

**Future
conduct
of the
Mogul.**

connections with the French : but Mr. Law had A. D. 1761.
 prejudiced that mighty Emperor so much against
 the English, that he chose to trust to his army,
 rather than to enter into a negociation with the
 government of Calcutta. In this resolution he
 drew off his forces, with an intention to return
 with greater power and strength. But in this re-
 treat his troops suffered greatly, and were always
 defeated, when they ventured to make a stand.
 However, when the Mogul had tried every mea-
 sure and expedient to accomplish his wishes by force, Submit
 to the English.
 and that it was not possible for him to find any
 power on that continent to dispute the superiority
 of arms with the English, he prudently submitted,
 and threw himself upon their honour and equity,
 instead of making any conditions. The govern-
 ment of Calcutta received him with great respect,
 appointed him a subsistence agreeable to his dig-
 nity and circumstances, and both they and the Subah
 promised to assist him in the recovery of his rights;
 as soon, and as far, as it should be consistent with
 their own safety. Thus it appears that the Eng-
 lish became necessary to the government of
 Bengal ; and this action put an end to the in-
 trigues of the French at the Mogul's court, and
 to the troubles, which Mr. Law and his adventu-
 rers had so long, and with success, fomented
 amongst the Indian princes.

Nevertheless, the enemy found out our weak French
 side beyond the line : and while their superior ravage the
 strength was mouldering away on the coasts of coast of
 Coromandel and Malabar, and they were extir- Sumatra.
 pated

A. D. 1761. pated entirely out of Bengal, Count d'Etaing, whose exploits at Gombroon have been already recorded with ignominy¹; traversed the ocean and scoured the coast of Sumatra, on which the English settlements slept in security, at a vast distance from the seat of war. His first attack, after the destruction of the factory-house at Gombroon, was upon the English fort of Nattal, on the 7th of February, 1760, which surrendered to him^m at discretion. Tapparopoly was forced to submit to the same fate, and even Bencoolen, or Fort Marlborough, was surprized by such an unexpected visit, that the factory, in their first heat of consternation, ordered the Denham Indiaman, then in the road, to be burnt, though their chief defence might have been considered to lie in her artillery, which was superior to the enemy's metal. For, though the crew retired into the fort, and made a brave defence till the factory had secured their best effects; this mistake to burn the Denham, for fear of her falling into the hands of an enemy that was of less force, was not to be recovered. They were obliged, at last, to yield up the place to the French adventurer, who being in no condition but to plunder and retire, before the ships could arrive from England, in the course of their trade, loaded what effects he could find, on board Dutch ships, hired for that purpose at Bata-

Nattal
fort sur-
renders.

Fort Marl-
borough,
&c. taken.

¹ See page 237. Vol. IV.

• With the Conde and Expedition frigates.

via, and sent them to the Isle of France : and then A. D. 1761.
ravaging every little creek, where the English were
supposed to have any property, the Count quitted Evacua-
Bencoolen, but left the marks of destruction, forced by the
which the French have been so remarkable during French.
this war, and he had distinguished himself at Gom-
boon. So that, at the arrival of the ships from
Europe, they found the settlement in a state of de-
struction, and reduced to the greatest distress, for
want of necessary accommodations.

Though the nation had not yet the pleasure to Expedi-
see an expedition sail for the conquest of Marti- tion a-
nico, agreeable to their wishes ; our naval power in gainst Do-
the West Indies seemed to provoke the ministry at minique.
home to accelerate the reduction of the French
islands. The enemy had settled and put the island
of Dominique, otherwise Dominico and Dominica,
in a posture of defence, and resolved either to assert
a right to it, under the equivocal term of *uti pos-
sidentis*, if a peace should take place ; or to main-
tain the possession thereof by force of arms, in a
continuation of the war. This was one of those
islands, called neutral by the French, but at present
well peopled and cultivated, possessed of a good
trade, fortified and established under the govern-
ment of Martinico ; and conveniently situated to
trade with the Dutch, to harbour privateers, and
to succour Martinico in case of an invasion, and
in distress, with both men, provisions, and other
necessaries ; its distance being no more than about
six leagues from that capital of the French sugar
islands.

A. D. 1761. islands. The extent of this island is about ten leagues in length, and about eight in breadth, well watered by rivers full of fish; seldom or never suffers by drought, though the midland is very high. It was prohibited the cultivation of sugar, by the French, for political reasons: but is fruitful in coffee, cocoa, tobacco and cotton: and is well supplied with cattle and fowl. Its situation only might point out its importance, and adjudge it to be a wise measure to make its conquest a prelude to the invasion of Martinico, where it was expected the French had collected their whole strength in those parts. Dominique promised to make a good place of arms, and to serve other good purposes of both the army and navy in future operations, for either the protection of our own, or for the conquest of the enemy's. Therefore the wisdom of the minister, lately resigned, had ordered Lord Rollo from North America, with a considerable corps, to attack and to endeavour to reduce this island to the obedience of the British crown.

Ld. Rollo arrives at Guadalupe. Lord Rollo arrived at the latter end of May at Guadalupe; and notwithstanding his lordship had the mortification to be disappointed of the forces from North America, of which only a small body arrived in time; he formed a resolution to proceed directly to attack the island of Dominique, with these few, and a reinforcement supplied by Governor Dalrymple, under the command of Lieutenant-Governor Melvill, escorted by four ships of the

the line and some frigates, ordered upon that service by Sir James Douglass. This armament sailed from Guadalupe on the 4th of June, and about noon, upon the 6th of the same month, came to an anchor, about a league from Roseau. His lordship sent two officers immediately ashore with a manifesto, summoning the inhabitants on the island of Dominique to surrender; to which they seemed at first very compliable: but after their recovering somewhat of their consternation, and having sent off two deputies, probably to amuse them, they returned a negative answer; manned their entrenchments and batteries at, and above Roseau, and prepared to stand on their defence: thereupon immediate orders were given for the troops to land; which was effected very speedily, and in the best order; much owing to the disposition of the boats, and position of the King's ships close in shore, very judiciously directed by the commodore; and, agreeably to orders given, there was not one single cannon or musquet discharged, till the enemy began to fire just before their landing. The troops were all landed before night, and formed quickly on the beach, and while a part soon after possessed the town, the corps of grenadiers, consisting of the companies of the 4th and 22d regiments, commanded by Colonel Melvill, seized a flanking battery, and part of an adjoining entrenchment, which had been abandoned. The enemy annoyed the troops with some popping musquetry from behind

A. D. 1761.

Sails from Guadalupe.

Lands at Roseau in Dominique.

Conquers the island.

A. D. hind trees and bushes, and fired from time to time
1761. from their battery, over-looking their entrenchments, the town and shore. It was now pretty late, and it appeared to his lordship, that the troops might be extremely harraffed, and suffer great loss, during the night, by the cannon and musquetry of the enemy, from the entrenchments overlooking the town : as also, that the enemy might be much reinforced before morning ; and having an excessive strong country in their favour, with four entrenchments behind, and above each other, might make a great defence. He judged it best therefore to order them to be immediately attacked by the grenadiers, supported by the battalion troops : which was accordingly done, with so much order, rapidity and resolution, that the enemy, with very little loss, were driven successively, in great confusion, from all their entrenchments, from their batteries, and from the head-quarter above it, where Colonel Melvill immediately took post with the grenadiers.

His lordship lay at their advanced post during that night, having established a communication, by proper guards, with the rest of the troops who possessed the town. Next day he established his head-quarters at Roseau, where he received the submission of the inhabitants ; who laid down their arms, and took the oaths of fidelity to his Britannic Majesty. All which was effected almost without the loss of blood : and without any other conditions, than a promise of protection,

cession, till his Majesty's pleasure should be known ^a. A. D. 1761.

^a This action is further explained in a letter from Sir James Douglas to Mr. Cleveland, dated 13th of June, 1761, in which he says, On the 4th of June I sailed from Guadalupe with the troops we had for Dominique, with the Dublin, Belliqueux, Sutherland and Montague, and on the 6th in the forenoon arrived off Roseau, when I sent a lieutenant on shore, accompanied by a land officer, with a manifesto, signed by Lord Rollo and myself, addressed to the principal inhabitants, and all others residing in the neutral islands of Dominique, which was read by the officer to the people in the town; and soon after two of the inhabitants of most note came off in the boat to me, who seemed, upon the whole of their conversation, not to be displeased at our coming to take possession of the island; but in the afternoon, when they were put on shore, we found the people were spirited up by the governor, Mons. Longprie, to stand upon their defence, and declared they had come to a determination to defend themselves: upon which I ordered the ships to anchor as close in as possible, and the necessary dispositions were accordingly made for landing the troops, which was effected about five in the evening, under cover of the shipping; and notwithstanding the enemy had four entrenchments upon the face of a steep hill, with two nine pounders in the upper one, Lord Rollo, at the head of his troops, and Colonel Melvill, at the head of the grenadiers, with a surprising alertness and intrepidity, drove the enemy from their entrenchments and battery, with the loss only of about eight men killed and wounded, and made themselves masters of Roseau and the adjacent places of defence, in a time too short to be conceived from the difficulty of the undertaking. The resistance the enemy made, has put it in our power to bring them to such terms as we please; and they are flocking from all parts of the island, to take the oath of allegiance to his Majesty King George.

M. Longprie is a prisoner, with three other of the principal people.

A. D. 1761. On the 13th of the same month, Rear Admiral Holmes, who commanded a squadron at Jamaica, having intelligence that the St. Anne, and several other ships of war belonging to the enemy, had sailed from Port au Prince, and disposed his squadron in the best manner to intercept them, he himself, in the Hampshire, fell in with the St. Anne, and chased her to leeward down upon the Centaur; when the French captain finding his danger of being between two fires, he hauled up and ran close in shore, till he calmed within a league N. of Donna Maria Bay. The Centaur pursued and got up along side: and the Frenchman, after firing his stern chase, struck his colours, and surrendered a very fine ship, pierced for 64 guns, though she mounted no more than 40; being laden with coffee, sugar and indigo, and manned with near 400 marines and soldiers.

Defence
of Fort
James in
Africa.

The French were too sensible of an entire exclusion from the trade on the coast of Africa, to quit all thoughts of attempting to recover a footing in that quarter of the globe. For this purpose we find that they sent two frigates to surprize James Fort, at the mouth of the Gambia: but they were received with such resolution by this little garrison, that one of them was forced on shore and perished: the other was much damaged, and was glad to sheer off for the ocean. There had been two more frigates appointed by the French to act for that service. But they were intercepted by a part of Sir Edward Hawke's squadron,

dron, stationed in Queberon Bay, in the month A. D. of January. 1761.

The action near St. Gravesande, off the coast of Captain Holland, between the Richmond and Felicite, in Elphiston's bravery on the coast of Flanders, did great honour to the British flag. Captain Elphiston, of the Richmond frigate, of 32 guns and 220 men, stationed on the coast of Flanders, being informed of the danger to which our navigation was exposed by a French frigate of 32 guns, which had made several captures on the Dutch coast*, sailed in quest of the enemy, and came up with her about 11 at night, on the 23d. At first the Felicite bore down upon the Richmond, but as soon as her force was discovered, the Frenchman hauled her wind, and endeavoured to get away. But Captain Elphiston would not part with an enemy in this manner. He pursued, and had the good fortune to keep sight of her, and to come up with her in the morning, about half past ten, when they began to engage, the Felicite still keeping her course towards the shore. The engagement was very hot on both sides, and so near to the Hague, which is not above eight miles from this part of the coast, that the report thereof brought the young Prince of Orange, General Yorke, the British

* The Felicite had taken and ransomed the Dorothy and Esther, William Benson, master. This frigate however was not stationed on this coast as a cruiser, but was bound to Martinico, with a cargo of 30,000*l.* value, in consort with the Hermione frigate, of the same force and value. The Hermione was lost coming out of Dunkirk.

A. D.
1761.

ambassador, Count de Affry, the French ambassador, and a vast number of other people to view an action, which added such reputation to the British arms. For at half an hour past twelve both frigates ran ashore, along-side each other. The fight continued in this situation with great obstinacy. The captain of the Felicite was killed: near 100 of her men were killed or wounded: the rest fled from their quarters: and as soon as the tide of flood favoured her, by floating the Richmond and driving her a little to leeward, the crew of the Felicite quitted their ship and escaped ashore. But their ship was entirely destroyed. The Richmond's damage was inconsiderable; and its loss was only of three men killed and 13 wounded. Count d'Affry was commanded by his court to represent this action in the most atrocious colours, and as an act of violence in defiance of the laws of nations and the neutrality of Holland, with a demand of satisfaction for such an open insult, and the damage they had sustained. But the Dutch at that time did not chuse to urge their resentment with any vehemence: and their remonstrances on that subject were answered, so as to remove all cause of misunderstanding between their High Mightinesses and the court of London.

The War-
wick man
of war re-
taken.

This year was also glorious for the retaking of the Warwick man of war, in which capture the French had boasted in every court of Europe. Captain Hood^r of the Minerva frigate, 32 guns

^r On the 8th of January he took the Ecureuil privateer, belonging to Bayonne, of 14 guns and 122 men.

and

A. D.
1761.

and 220 men, cruising in the chops of the channel, on the 23d of January, at day light, in the morning, saw and gave chase to a large ship steering to the westward, lat. 45. deg. 22. min. N. Cape Pinas bearing S. by E. distant 30 leagues. He soon perceived that it was a French two decked ship. But this was no discouragement: and at 20 minutes past ten, the wind blowing a fresh gale easterly, he got up with her, and the engagement began immediately with a great sea, but very close. The fire was terrible on both sides. The enemy's main and foretopmast went away in half an hour's time after the fight began; and soon after the Warwick went on board of the Minerva, on the starboard bow, and then fell along-side of her, but the sea soon parted them, and then the enemy fell astern. About a quarter after eleven, the Minerva's bowsprit went away, and the foremast soon followed it. These were unfortunate accidents, and Captain Hood almost despaired of being able to attack the enemy again; however, he cut the wreck away as soon as possible; and, about one o'clock, cleared the ship of it, by the loss of one man and the sheet anchor. He then wore the ship, and stood for the enemy, who was got about three leagues to the leeward of him. At four o'clock he came up close to the enemy, and renewed the attack. About a quarter before five she struck, when possession was taken of the Warwick, of 34 guns, but pierced for 60, the same as when she belonged to his late Majesty, commanded by M. le Verger de

A. D. 1761. de Belair, who had a King's commission to rank as captain of a fireship. It had on board 295 men, 74 of which were a detachment of King's troops, from the company of Besson, with two other officers, and four passengers ; the latter were destined for Pondicherry. She sailed from Rochfort the 20th of January, and was bound to the isle of France and Bourbon, loaded with provisions, ammunition, and stores. The enemy had 14 killed, and 32 wounded. In the *Minerva*, the numbers were Mr. George Edwards, boatswain, and 13 killed ; and Mr. John Darracott, gunner, and 33 wounded : the former died on the 27th, and two seamen. At nine o'clock the main-mast of the *Minerva* went away ; at eleven the mizen-mast followed it.

Captain
Nightingale's
bravery.

The bravery and conduct of Captain Nightingale of his Majesty's frigate *Vengeance*, of 26 guns, nine and four pounders, and 200 men, are no less remarkable. The *Vengeance* fell in^a with the *Entreprenant*, a French ship, pierced for 44, carrying only 26 guns, twelve and six pounders, with 203 men, equipped for war and merchandize, and loaded with various kinds of goods, at Bourdeaux, from whence she sailed on the 8th of March for St. Domingo. Captain Nightingale got up close along side of her at five o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th, when the action imme-

^a On the 13th of March.

^b He also took a small privateer of St. Maloes, carrying four carriage and four swivel guns, and 45 men, off the Lizard, on the 23d of March.

diately

diately began, and continued for three quarters of ^{A. D. 1761.} an hour, in which time the Vengeance was five times on fire, (twice, as was imagined, from the enemy's wads setting fire to the main rigging;) the Vengeance's rigging and sails being then so much shattered, that the ship was not under command, the enemy ran his bowsprit over her tafferal for boarding. But he was therein prevented, and the Vengeance sheered off, to repair her rigging and sails. As soon as the ship was in condition, Captain Nightingale got up again close to the enemy, and the engagement was renewed for an hour, when the Entreprenant sheered off, and bore away. The Vengeance being a second time disabled in her masts and rigging, was some time in wearing: but at length she wore, and Captain Nightingale got again within pistol shot of the enemy, and renewed the engagement, which continued for an hour and a half, when the enemy called for quarter. The Entreprenant had 15 men killed, and 24 wounded: the Vengeance had six killed, and 27 wounded, most of them dangerously, and two of them died.

These did not compleat the losses of the enemy's ships of war for this year. Captain Deane ^{The Comete taken.} in the Bedford, of 64 guns, took the Comete frigate of war, of 32 guns and 230 men, from Brest; and Captain Prograve of the Albany sloop, of 16 guns and 125 men, fell in with the Pheasant frigate of equal force, on the 6th of April, ^{The Pheasant taken.}

On the 16th of April, about 30 leagues from the Lizard.

off

A. D. 1761. off Plymouth, about day-light, and after a chase of 28 hours, (during which the Frenchman, trusting more to his heels than his guns, threw 14 of them overboard), getting along-side of her, and firing a broadside, the Pheasant struck her colours.

Captain
Wheeler
killed.

The Ori-
flame ta-
ken.

Captain
Proby's
bloody
engage-
ment.

The same spirit of activity and courage adorned the squadron in the Mediterranean. Captain Wheeler, of his Majesty's ship *Isis*, of 50 guns, cruising off Cape Tres Foreas, in the beginning of April, descried the *Ori flame*, of 40 guns, and came up with her at six in the evening. But the Frenchman, having the wind, only maintained a running fight, in which Captain Wheeler was killed. By this accident, the command devolved upon Lieutenant Cunningham; and he, perceiving that it was the enemy's drift to gain the neutral shore of Spain, ordered his men to board her without delay, at about half an hour past ten; which had its desired effect. For the *Ori flame* being too much disabled by the loss of 45 men killed and wounded, out of 370, to make further resistance, struck, and was carried into Gibraltar; with the loss of no more than four killed and nine wounded, on board the *Isis*. But the Thunderer, Captain Proby, cruising with the *Modeste* and *Thetis*, on the coast of Spain, did not come off so easily. These three ships of war were stationed to watch and to intercept the *Achilles* and *Bouffon*, two French ships of war, lying in the harbour of Cadiz. They ventured out, and on the 16th of April were descried by the English ships abovementioned, which gave them chase. The Thunderer came

up

up with the Achilles, about midnight, and after a short action, of half an hour, forced the Achilles to strike; but not without the loss of 40 men killed and 100 and upwards wounded, amongst whom was the captain himself, wounded slightly in his right arm. The Thetis pursued the Bouffon; but it was seven next morning before the Thetis could force her to engage. However when this could no longer be avoided, the Frenchman, for half an hour, fought desperately, and did not discover any signs of submission till the Modeste ranged up, and he saw his ship between two fires; then he yielded. These ships were extremely damaged both in their crews and rigging.

On the 10th of August Captain Faulkner, of the Bellona, of 74 guns, and Captain Loggie, of the Brilliant, of 36 guns, in their course from Lisbon, with a considerable quantity of money on board for the merchants of London, in their way to England, discovered three sail of ships standing in for the land, one of the line of battle and two frigates, on the 14th at three o'clock in the afternoon, in the S. W. quarter, Cape Finisterre bearing N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. distant ten leagues. The two captains judging them to be enemies, by their crouding sail to wear away, immediately gave chase, which continued all night. At five in the morning they were so near as to discover that they were a 74¹ and two 36 gun ships". At the same

A. D. 1761.

The Achilles taken.

The Bouffon taken.

The engagement between the Bellona, Capt. Faulkner, and the Courageaux.

Between the Brilliant and two French frigates.

¹ The Courageaux.

² The Malicieuse and Hermione.

time

A. D.
1761.

time the French commodore, or captain of the large ship, being a man of spirit, and withal deceived in the size of the *Bellona*, which laid so flush in the water, as to appear much smaller than she was, threw out a signal for his frigates to close with and to engage the *Brilliant*: hauled down his own studding sails; wore round and stood for the *Bellona* under his top-sails. Captain Faulkner advanced with an easy sail, and manned his quarters, and made every necessary preparation for a resolute engagement.

Thus both commanders were equally determined to try their strength and abilities. Their ships were of an equal burden. Their metal of an equal weight and number. The wind was gentle. The sea calm. The only disparity and disadvantage was in the number of men. The French commodore, which Captain Faulkner could now see was the *Courageaux*, commanded by M. Dugué L'Ambert, from St. Domingo, had a complement of 700 men. The *Bellona* no more than 550. But this disparity of numbers was greatly made up by the goodness of the crew, composed of men well disciplined, select and inured to service: and by officers of known merit, under a commander, who had often given examples of his bravery, magnanimity, and conduct.

With this determination the fire was suspended on both sides, till they were come within musket-shot of each other. In the mean time the two French frigates obeyed their commodore's signals, and

and the Malicieuse, one of them, being a-head of A. D. 1761.
 its consort, and making more way than the Con-
 rageaux, was arracked by the Brilliant, at six
 o'clock. Twenty-five minutes after the Bellona
 brought to along-side of the Courageaux, and be-
 gan to engage as near as possible. In nine mi-
 nutes time her mizen-mast was carried over the
 stern by the enemy's shot, with all the men on
 the round-top, who saved themselves by clamber-
 ing into the port-holes of the gun-room; and
 his braces, bowlings, shrouds, and rigging were
 so cut and mangled by the same means, that it
 furnished the Courageaux with a fair opportunity
 to steer off. To prevent which Captain Faulkner
 gave immediate orders to board her. But the po-
 sition of the two ships rendered it impracticable;
 except the Bellona could be brought to wear the
 ship quite round, so as to lay her upon the oppo-
 site quarter of the Courageaux: of which there
 was no prospect, in a ship so disabled. On the
 other side, the Courageaux had so far got the ad-
 vantage, as to be falling athwart the fore fort or
 bows of the Bellona. A position, by which the
 English would have been raked with great execu-
 tion fore and aft. Nothing now could save the
 Bellona, but a superiority of naval knowledge and
 discipline. Her haul-yards, and most of her ropes,
 by which a ship is worked, were destroyed. Her
 safety depended upon the use of her studding-fails; Danger-ous state of the Bellona.
 which were so managed by the captain, with the
 help of his master, that with a presence of mind,
 and an activity beyond conception, they brought
 her How re-covered

A. D. 1761. her into the situation required. And the officers and men, perceiving this change of their position, flew to the guns on the other side with such regularity and dispatch, that they never ceased pouring in their fire till they, first, carried away the *Courageaux's* mizen-mast, which went also over-board, and then obliged her to strike at four in the afternoon.

The *Courageaux* appeared like a wreck floating upon the water. The desperate situation from which the English had just recovered their own ship by mere dint of knowledge and dexterity, made them sensible that any relaxation or delay might soon prove their ruin. There was no trusting to the ship's working. They must either profit by their present position, or be carried in triumph into France. These reflections accelerated their discharges, which never abated, and were so well served, that every shot carried destruction along with it. The sides of the *Courageaux* were shattered and torn by every broadside, and her decks were covered with the slain. Yet as if these wretches had resolved not to survive the disgrace of the day, some of them, by firing a shot from the lower tier of the *Courageaux*, after their Captain had surrendered, and the English had left their quarters, and were congratulating each other on the success of the day, so provoked the conquerors, that the seamen ran to their quarters, and without orders poured two broadsides into the Frenchman. Which obliged the imprudent captives to call for quarter, when they

they had violated the laws of arms, and thereby almost put it out of the power of the victorious commander to save their lives. A. D. 1761.

Captain Loggie, during this whole action, displayed great courage and abilities. His best service was to prevent either of the frigates from giving assistance to the *Courageaux*. For this reason he so managed his attack and defence, that he kept them both continually employed. He even maintained his station, and fought them for half an hour after their commodore had struck. But he had not sufficient strength to board them, nor to oblige them to strike. However he greatly damaged both their masts and rigging, and made them sheer off, and consult their safety in flight: neither of the English ships being in a condition to pursue.

Captain Loggie's conduct and bravery.

The loss on this occasion was very extraordinary on board the *Courageaux*. Two hundred and twenty were killed outright, and 110 were wounded, many of whom never recovered: though the slain in the *Bellona* did not exceed six, nor the wounded twenty-eight. The *Brilliant* had five killed and sixteen wounded. Amongst the slain was the master.

Loss on both sides

Captain Faulkner and Captain Loggie returned to Lisbon with their prize, which had lost not only her mizen mast but her main-mast, that went away about half an hour after she struck: and in her way to the Tagus she narrowly escaped being blown up by a cask of spirituous liquors accidentally set on fire: but was extinguished by the

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Humanity
towards
the pri-
soners.

Domestic
affairs.

presence of mind and resolution of Mr. Mele, the first lieutenant, who leaped into the midst of some combustibles already in flames advancing towards the magazine, and stop them; so that no lives were lost, except the centinel's, who had set the spirits on fire by carrying a candle too near the bung. He was burnt to death: and twenty French prisoners, who, upon hearing the alarm of fire, leaped into the sea and perished. But what added to the merit of the conquerors was their humanity towards their prisoners; who having no provision made for them by their own sovereign, must have perished at Lisbon, without the generosity of their conquerors. Where the two captains interested themselves so much in their favour, and, setting an example, raised a liberal subscription in the English factory for the relief of the wounded French prisoners.

Such were the effects of the wise and vigorous counsils at home, and of the regard that had been paid to merit, in the promotion and choice of officers. Let us now enquire how this spirit was maintained after the resignation of Mr. PITT.—Though his opinion and advice relative to the conduct of Spain, and to the measures for preventing any insult or surprize from that nation, were so strongly opposed and rejected in the cabinet, we shall find that it was not so much his judgment, as his presence, that was disagreeable to his compeers. For, that very c—, (Mr. PITT and Lord TEMPLE only excluded) could not help shewing their belief of Mr. PITT's suspicions in regard to Spain, by
advising

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advising his majesty to order the Earl of Bristol, his ambassador at Madrid, to demand an explanation of the secret treaty, which had been lately ratified between the two monarchs of France and Spain. The first step taken in this application was in such a manner as not to give the court of Spain the least reasonable grounds of disgust. The Earl of Egremont, who had succeeded Mr. Pitt in the secretaryship, was commanded to write to the Earl of Bristol. And in his most secret letter to that noble Lord, the English ambassador at Madrid, having set forth the pacific disposition of his royal master, he declares, "That those being the King's sentiments, his Majesty could not imagine that the court of Spain should think it unreasonable, to desire a communication of the treaty, acknowledged to have been lately concluded, between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, or of such articles thereof as might, by particular and explicit engagements, immediately relate to the interests of Great Britain, or, in a more general and distant view of affairs, be any ways construed to effect the same in the present conjuncture, before he entered into farther negotiation on the points depending between the two crowns; which the King conceived might be soon amicably accommodated, if his Catholick Majesty meant to bring the same facility on his part, as his Majesty was determined to shew on his, towards

▼ Dated the 28th of October 1761.

Q 2

" the

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“the speedy adjustment of that, which seemed
“then to remain the principal, if not only
“matter in dispute: for though the King, from
“his confidence in the repeated assurances of
“friendship from his Catholic Majesty, is unwill-
“ing, says Lord Egremont, to suppose that a
“treaty, concluded by him, can contain any
“thing to the prejudice of Great Britain; yet
“as the court of France has affected to give out
“that Spain was on the point of entering into
“the war; which language has been industriously
“propagated, and generally with success, in most
“courts of Europe; his Majesty therefore thinks
“that the honour of his crown, and the interests
“of his people, equally call for an explanation
“with regard to this already too much credited
“report, before he can, consistent with his own
“dignity, proceed in any negociation with Spain,
“nor can any fair or candid discussion of the
“rights or differences of the two courts take place
“upon a just and equitable footing, should Spain
“while she is fully informed of the extent of
“all his Majesty’s alliances and connections, main-
“tain a suspicious and unfriendly reserve, with
“regard to a treaty recently concluded between
“her and his Majesty’s declared and inveterate
“enemy: by whom it is openly and industriously
“asserted, throughout Europe, that the purport
“thereof is hostile to Great Britain.

“I am here to inform your Excellency, that,
“in my first conference with the Count de Fuentes,
“I explained this matter fully; but his Excel-
“lency

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“lency avoided entering into it, and seemed to
“wish that it might be passed through another
“channel ; disclaiming, however, in the strongest
“manner, any unfriendly intentions of his court.
“It is therefore the King’s pleasure, that your
“Excellency should use the most pressing in-
“stances to Mr. Wall, to obtain such communi-
“cation as is above-mentioned ; and it is hoped,
“that you will easily convince a minister so tho-
“roughly acquainted with the nature and consti-
“tution of this country, of the importance of
“this test of friendship, to the support of that
“desirable harmony between the two courts ;
“and how much a refusal to give due satisfaction
“on this head would impede and obstruct his
“Majesty’s best intentions towards that valuable
“object. It is needless to recommend to your
“Excellency, to urge this matter in the most
“polite and friendly terms ; gently insinuating
“the above arguments, to shew, that his Ma-
“jesty ought to be satisfied as to this matter, be-
“fore he proceeds to other points : but, on the
“other hand, your Excellency will give the Spa-
“nish minister the strongest assurances, that this
“obstacle once removed, his Majesty is most sin-
“cerely and cordially disposed to enter into an
“amicable discussion of other matters in dispute :
“little doubting, but that a confirmed reciprocal
“confidence would naturally point out expedients
“to save the honour of both Kings, adjust things
“to mutual satisfaction, and establish a harmony,
“as permanent, as advantageous to both courts.”

Q 3

Not

A. D. 1761. Not content with this positive direction to avoid all real cause of disgust, or to suggest the least disposition of the court of Great Britain towards a war with Spain, the Earl of Egremont added private directions to enforce what he had so clearly explained in his most secret letter^x.

But the Spanish court, having received early advice of the resignation of Mr PITT, before the news thereof reached the British minister at Madrid, Lord Bristol perceived such a sudden

^x In a second letter of the same date his Lordship concludes thus;

" I am further to inform your Excellency, for your private direction, that, in case you should find insuperable objections to such a communication as is expected in my most secret letter of this date, and that in lieu thereof, it should be proposed to give his Majesty solemn assurances of the innocence of the treaty in question, with respect to the King's interests: in such case, your Excellency is not totally to reject the alternative, but to take it *ad referendum* to be transmitted to your court: provided always, that the said assurances be given upon his Catholic Majesty's royal word, signified in writing, either by the Spanish secretary of state to your Excellency, or by the Count de Fuentes to the King's secretary of state here, and not otherwise."

And in a third letter, also of the same date, he concludes thus:

" The King's thorough reliance on your experienced zeal for his service, makes it unnecessary to recommend vigilance on this occasion. I am therefore only to add, that your Excellency, in the diligent prosecution of this object, will most cautiously avoid the least mark of offensive diffidence, which might, in any degree, tend to interrupt those friendly dispositions, which his Majesty sincerely wishes to cultivate and improve."

change

change in the discourse he had with Mr. Wall, the Spanish primier, and in his sentiments, that his Lordship saw it necessary to communicate his discovery and suspicions, by a special messenger, to the court of London.

The vigilant, able and upright ambassador, before he received the letters above recited from his court, heard of the new treaty between France and Spain, and thought it his duty to apply to the Spanish ministers, to know what truth there was in the report, and what might be the nature of those new engagements. In his application to Mr. Wall, his Lordship expressed himself with the utmost caution and decency; he only told him, " That notwithstanding the frequent, and " even late declarations, he had made to him, concerning the pacific inclinations of Spain; yet he " could not conceal the uneasiness it gave him, " to hear from all parts, both within those kingdoms, and from other countries, that a treaty " had not long since been concluded between the " courts of Madrid and Versailles; and therefore " he desired his Excellency would satisfy his " doubts, by informing him, whether there was " any ground for these rumours; and, in case " it were possible, after all that had passed between them two, for such a convention as was " hinted at, to have been concluded; then he " hoped to be told of what nature this treaty " was, whether offensive or singly defensive; " what were the principal conditions contained in

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Conduct
of the Earl
of Bristol.

A. D. 1761. " it, and with what views this sudden and close
 " union, between Spain and France, had been
 " calculated : for he could neither hear such re-
 " ports with indifference, nor give credit to the
 " truth of them, without an explicit avowal there-
 " of from his Excellency's mouth."

Mr Wall's Instead of answering the question, he flung
 conduct. himself into a passion, and began to exclaim
 against our conduct with regard to France, and
 our designs with regard to Spain ; by saying,

" That the King his master had reason to think
 " the conduct of England unwarrantable ; for
 " his Catholick Majesty never could obtain an an-
 " swer from the British ministry, to any memorial
 " or paper that was sent from hence, either by the
 " channel of the Count of Fuentes, or thro' my
 " (the Earl of Bristol's) hands : he told me we were
 " intoxicated with all our successes, and a conti-
 " nued series of victories had elated us so far, as
 " to induce us to condemn the reasonable con-
 " cessions France had consented to make to us for
 " a peace ; but that it was evident, by our re-
 " fusal of the Duc de Choiseul's proposals, all we
 " aimed at was, first, to ruin the French power,
 " in order more easily to crush Spain, to drive
 " all the subjects of the Christian King, not only
 " from their island colonies in the new world,
 " but also to destroy their several forts and settle-
 " ments upon the continent of North America,
 " to have an easier task in seizing on all the Spa-
 " nish dominions in those parts, thereby to sa-
 " risfy

“tisfy the utmost of our ambition, and to gratify
“our unbounded thirst of conquest.”

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From this behaviour of the Spanish secretary of
state, it is plain that a rupture was resolved on by
the court of Spain, before any application was
made by us for a communication of the treaty
they had entered into with France, or of their de-
signs in consequence of that treaty. However, as
our minister wisely kept his temper, he coolly an-
swered all the objections made to our conduct.

This

“ Upon this, says my Lord Bristol, I went methodically
through the various subjects that had been started by the Spa-
nish secretary of state, insisting on the first discovery, and a
continued possession of the Newfoundland fishery, by the
King’s subjects; whereas the Spaniards had never brought
any proofs to back their own assertions to a claim to that
fishery, whilst we had clearly deduced our right from the time
of Henry VII.

With regard to the logwood trade; a constant enjoyment
of it for about a century, confirmed to us by treaties, under
the denominations of an indulgence or sufferance, made it a
legal commodity: but as to all usurped settlements, I had
often been ordered to declare the King’s readiness to have
them evacuated, when an equitable regulation was settled
between the two courts, for our quiet possession of that va-
luable branch of commerce.

Then, as to the several complaints of breaches of neutra-
lity, pretended confiscations of goods, unlawful seizures of
Spanish vessels, and all the various blended grievances I had
heard of; I could only answer, in general, that our courts of
law were open to all complainants, and though parties might
go from thence dissatisfied, yet the justice of those courts of ju-
dicature had never been impeached.

In

A. D. 1761. This did not discourage the British minister to push his question a little further, when he discovered so great an agitation in a minister of state, who had always before treated him with the greatest decency, and given him, the strongest assurances of the pacific sentiments of his court, till at last he extorted from him, *That his Catholick Majesty had judged it expedient to renew his family compacts with the most Christian King*; but at the same time he absolutely refused to give any light into the nature of those compacts, or the time when they were made or renewed, and only said that the Count de Fuentes and Mr. Bussy had declared

Earl of Bristol exports an answer.

In relation to England's views, of forcing our enemies to agree to such terms as we thought might insure our nation from the apprehensions of a future war; I desired to know, what instance there was of any country's not endeavouring to obtain the most advantageous conditions for itself at a peace, especially when providence had vouchsafed to bless a righteous cause with success: this was the case of Great Britain; we were bound by strong engagements to support our allies, and insisted on being at liberty to fulfil those engagements according to the extent of them; while we determined to settle our empire in America upon such a footing, as should free our colonies there from encroachments, and not leave them to be liable to a repetition of such chicanes from the French, as had caused the beginning of those disturbances, which had afterwards extended themselves into Europe."

"Let us see then what the Count de Fuentes had declared in relation to this treaty; for as to Mr. Bussy, it does not appear, that he ever mentioned it. And as to the Count de Fuentes, he had hitherto been so far from mentioning this treaty, that all his conversations had been of the most amicable

declared to our ministers all that was meant to be communicated to them. A. D. 1761.

This double dealing, and the daily accounts we had from the Earl of Bristol, and from all the foreign gazettes, of the warlike preparations in Spain, both by sea and land, increased the suspicions of the British ministers, that in this new treaty, or family compact, as Mr. Wall had called it, there was something of an offensive nature against this nation; especially as the agents and tools of the French court continued to assert and publish, both at home and abroad, that Spain was on the point of declaring war against England; therefore his Majesty most justly resolved to insist more peremptorily upon a communication of this new treaty, and an authentic declaration of the intentions of Spain, with regard to Great Britain; but still to do this in as polite and complaisant a manner, as was possible. Doubts and resolutions of the British court.

Lord Egremont was therefore ordered to write another letter^a, in which he first answers Mr. Wall's suppositions of our designs against Spain, and then proceeds with these instructions: Ultimate instructions to the Earl of Bristol.

“ The

cable kind; and on the 12th or 13th of November, when he had an audience of his Majesty, without saying any thing of this treaty, he had given his Majesty the strongest assurances of the friendly disposition of the King his master, and of his steady purpose to maintain the strictest amity with the court of Great Britain.

^a Dated the 17th of November, to the Earl of Bristol.

^b “ His Majesty read, with particular concern, the intemperate and rash advice which that minister talked of proposing

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1761.

“ The patience and calmness with which your Excellency listened to what must have been so painful to hear, as the vague declamation, with which the Spanish secretary eluded, for the second time, returning any answer to the question you so properly persevered in urging to him; and your having still returned to the charge, after an interval of an hour, without any effect, except the dry unsatisfactory telling you that the Count de Fuentes and M. Buffy “ had declared to his Majesty’s ministers all that was meant to be “ communicated to them,” has so unpromising an aspect, as to give the King very little reason to

posing to the King his master, grounded upon meer chimerical suppositions of intended hostilities against Spain, which do the highest injustice to the purity and integrity of his Majesty’s intentions: and Mr. Wall must himself know, that there has been a particular delicacy observed, in concerting our plans for military operations, to avoid carrying hostilities towards objects, which might give the least jealousy or umbrage to the court of Spain; and therefore, his Majesty can only consider such unjust suggestions and groundless suspicions, as destitute of all probability, as of proof; as a mere pretext, in case, that, contrary to all good faith, and the most solemn repeated professions of friendly intentions, the court of Spain should have meditated or resolved on hostilities against England; which as, on the one hand, his Majesty will, with his usual moderation, endeavour to prevent, by all means consistent with his own dignity, and that of the nation; so, on the other, he will, with the utmost firmness and resolution, strenuously repel, with that vigour which becomes a monarch conscious of being attacked without cause or provocation, and zealous at all times to assert and vindicate the honour of his crown, and the rights of his subjects.”

hope

A. D.
1761.

hope for good effects from further patience and forbearance : and so unsatisfactory a result of your Excellency's inquiries, reduces his Majesty to the disagreeable necessity of demanding a precise and categorical answer from the court of Madrid, relative to their intention with regard to Great Britain in this critical conjuncture ; and therefore, it is his Majesty's express command, that your Excellency, making such use of this dispatch, as you shall judge proper, do, without loss of time, demand of the Spanish secretary of state, in his Majesty's name, an immediate, clear and categorical answer to that question ; and that you do assure Mr. Wall, with becoming firmness, and in the most explicit terms, that any procrastination, ambiguity, or evasion, will be considered as ample and sufficient grounds, for authorizing his Majesty to take such steps as his royal wisdom shall dictate, for the honour and dignity of his crown, and for the protection and security of his people. At the same time that your Excellency cannot be too firm and explicit upon this question, you will be particularly cautious not to use the least harshness in your manner, or mix any thing in your conversation with the Spanish minister, which can have the least tendency to indispose or irritate him. Nothing would more essentially contribute to his Majesty's real satisfaction, than your Excellency's bringing back that court to a dispassionate and reasonable way of thinking ; and your procuring such an answer, as might justify his

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his Majesty's continuation of the same friendly and amicable intercourse, which is not more the interest of both countries, than his Majesty's sincere desire. Various are the proofs that could be given of this disposition of his Majesty: notorious it is to all Europe, that in his Majesty's councils, every thing, which might indicate a tendency to break through that good understanding between the two courts, which he is so anxious to maintain, has been cautiously avoided. Happy if such measures, properly attributed to the rectitude of his royal mind, should contribute towards the salutary effects which his moderation thereby proposed: but should, on the contrary, a false and injurious interpretation, construe into timidity, his Majesty's desire of maintaining peace with Spain, provided that desire was reciprocal on the part of the Catholick King; and should a rupture ensue, after every becoming facility given on the part of Great Britain; his Majesty will, at least, have the consolation to reflect, that, whatever the consequences may be, he can appeal to all the world for the rectitude and purity of his intentions, and for the moderation he has observed, in endeavouring to prevent so great a calamity, by every step, which his honour and dignity could permit."

With these instructions, Lord Bristol also received directions for his conduct in case he could not obtain the satisfaction demanded. He was commanded forthwith to leave Madrid without taking

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taking leave, and to hasten his journey to England, by the way of Lisbon; and to signify the situation of the British affairs with Spain, to the governor of Gibraltar, to his Majesty's commanders in the Mediterranean, and to all his consuls in Spain and Portugal.

When Lord Bristol received these letters, he waited upon Mr. Wall, whose stile had been softening gradually from the time of his haughty conference above mentioned, and continued to behave in a friendly manner. But my lord could not prevail with him to give any other answer now, than referring him to the instruction sent to the Count de Fuentes, at London, which only contained the strongest professions of friendship from Spain: but not a tittle concerning the principal question of the nature of the new treaty with France. However, Mr. Wall's tone was of so conciliating a nature, that his lordship dwelt only in general terms, concerning the intention of Spain in regard to England, and dispatched his reasons next day to London. But his lordship had very soon

Mr Wall's
double
dealing.

* On the 5th of December.

* See page 244.

* On the 6th of December.

† In the account which the Earl of Bristol gives, December the 7th, to our court of this conference, he says, "You will, perhaps, my lord, be surprized to find, I have, in this visit, only dwelt in general terms, concerning the intention of Spain with regard to England: I beg of you to suspend forming any judgment about my conduct therein, till I have explained my motive for acting in that manner. I perceived General Wall's tone

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soon reason to alter his good opinion of the moderation and justice of the Spanish court. For, the very next day, Mr. Wall invited him to a new conference, when he was again told, that with regard to the treaty and intentions of Spain, the said instruction to the Count de Fuentes was the only answer the Catholick King judged it expedient to give. Upon this his excellency, according to his instructions of the 19th of November, made, and, at Mr. Wall's desire, delivered in writing the following demand.

Earl of
Bristol's
demand.

"Whether the court of Madrid intends to join the French, our enemies, to act hostilely against Great Britain or to depart in any manner, from its neutrality?"

A categorical answer is expected to those questions; otherwise, a refusal to comply will be looked upon as an aggression, on the part of Spain, and a declaration of war."

tone to be of so conciliating a nature; he expressed his wishes so strongly, that some method might be found out for an amicable adjustment of our differences; and was so far from dropping the least word, that could make me imagine Spain intended to act hostilely against us, that I began to flatter myself I might obtain the categorical answer I was ordered to demand, without the Spanish minister's suspecting my ultimate orders. When I was going out of his room, he took me by the hand and said, with a smile, he hoped; but there he stopped. I asked him what he hoped, that I might also hope, and that all might concur in the same hopes: but his excellency only then bowed, and took his leave of me."

* The 8th of December.

And



And on the 10th he received the following letter from Mr. Wall: Your excellency having expressed to me, the day before yesterday, and being even pleased to put in writing, that you had orders to ask a positive and categorical answer to the question, "If Spain thought of joining herself with France, against England?" Declaring, at the same time, that you should look upon the refusal as a declaration of war: and that you would, in consequence, leave this court. The spirit of haughtiness and of discord, which dictated this inconsiderate step, and which, for the misfortune of mankind, still reigns so much in the British government, is what made, in the same instant, the declaration of war, and attacked the King's dignity. Your excellency may think of retiring when, and in the manner, it shall be convenient to you; which is the only answer that, without detaining you, his Majesty has ordered me to give you.

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1761.

The answer by
Mr. Wall.

From this time the court of Spain behaved in the most indecent manner towards our minister: They not only denied him any order for post-horses, even for sending a messenger to Lisbon, for a passport from that court; but they surrounded his house with spies, and issued an order for stopping every one going from Madrid without leave; which was certainly done on purpose to prevent his giving notice to our merchants and trading ships in the several ports of Spain; but his excellency had before taken care to give notice

Ill usage
of the English
ambassador.

A. D. 1761. as directed of our critical situation, and even now contrived a method to give notice of his leaving that court, which he did on the 17th, being the soonest his health would permit, so that our ministers here had no account of the actual breach with the court of Spain, till the 24th of December, being three days after the Count of Fuentes had delivered them that court's answer to our inquiries about their late treaty with France, and their intention with regard to this kingdom; which was in substance, that his Catholic Majesty could easily give a direct answer, but his own dignity prevented his doing so, considering its being asked as a condition for our entering upon a negociation about differences, which had been for many years subsisting; and considering the impropriety of his Majesty's satisfying our curiosity at every turn, whilst no satisfaction was given to his just demands.

Remarks
thereon.

If our enquiries had proceeded from mere curiosity, or if we had acknowledged the justice of the Spanish demands, and yet refused satisfaction, there might have been some sense in this haughty answer; but the use which our enemies, the French, had made of the late treaty between them and Spain, and the critical time, at which that treaty was concluded, made it absolutely necessary for us, upon many accounts, to have it communicated, that we might authentically disprove what the French had so positively alledged, and so industriously propagated, that Spain had engaged to join with them in the war against this nation.

And

And as to the demands of Spain, we had shewn, A. D.
1761. that two of them were without the least foundation; and as to the third, we had shewn that their own governors in America had been the cause of what they now complain of, and we offered to give them all the satisfaction they could desire, as soon as they had proposed an effectual method for securing us in the quiet enjoyment of our right to cut logwood, without being, as formerly interrupted by their governors, as often as they should take it into their heads to do so.

These things being considered, we could not but look upon such a haughty and provoking answer to such a reasonable demand, as a proof that they were resolved to join with France against us, unless we would agree to grant to France such terms of peace, as they might be pleased to prescribe; and also to grant every claim, that they themselves had set up against us: a resolution which seems to have been of long standing, and before the date of the papers we have just recited.

The determination of the court of Spain to ^{Spanish} come to an open rupture with Great Britain, was ^{intentionally} so manifest in Mr Wall's haughty reply to Lord ^{discover-} Bristol's first enquiry, into the existence and nature of the Family Compact, of which his lordship informed his court by a special messenger in November, that it was impossible for the British ministry to entertain any further thoughts of his Catholic Majesty's pacific sentiments towards Great Britain.

A. D. 1761. But, as this early confirmation of the apprehensions, on which Mr. PITT had founded his advice, so strenuously opposed in the cabinet, diffused disagreeable ideas of them, who had driven that able minister out of the administration, for no other apparent reason than his vigorous counsel to defeat the execution of the Family Compact; it was necessary, not only to think seriously in what manner to guard effectually against the united force of France and Spain; but how to quiet the minds of the people during the interim, who grew very clamorous at the credulity and pacific temper of the ministry with regard to the King of Spain.

Conduct of the English Ministry. These considerations accelerated the long projected expedition against Martinico. The plan had been laid down; the preparations had been made; all the officers had been appointed, and every order had been given for carrying it into execution by Mr. PITT, at a proper season. Orders were sent to General Monckton, at New York, to assemble a body of troops, and repair with them to Barbadoes, where he would be joined by a fleet, and a body of troops, from Europe, to go, under his direction, on an expedition against the enemy. Orders were likewise sent to Belleisle, to prepare four battalions for embarkation. A fleet, with transports, were equipped at Portsmouth, and the command given to Admiral Rodney. He was ordered to touch at Belleisle, and to take on board his transports the troops there; then proceed to Barbadoes, where he would be

be joined by General Monckton, and then to go with the united force against Martinico. So that, as this expedition was under sailing orders, and the time was come for the service it was to perform, it was necessary, to support their own credit, for the new ministry to permit the same to fail; as it would keep up the appearance of vigorous measures: and notwithstanding the contrary advice from Lord Bristol, of the peevishness, haughtiness, and hostile disposition of the Spanish court, it was thought convenient, for a time, to conceal their suspicions, and to propagate a friendly opinion of the court of Spain; endeavouring to impose upon the public the assurances made by Count de Fuentes, of his Catholic Majesty's friendship and pacific sentiments, for real intentions that might be depended upon.

Rear Admiral Rodney sailed in October, with a squadron of ships, and after taking on board his transports four battalions, at Belleisle, he proceeded to join the rest of the armament destined against Martinico, at Barbadoes. This, in some measure, kept up the spirits of the people of England: who are always disposed, and forward to contribute their assistance in support of vigorous measures; and never grudge the money, they pay in taxes, for conquests of importance to their country.

The parliament met^h during the time of this Parliament about the dubious conduct of Spain; which sessions was opened with a most gracious speech from the throne, in the following words:

^h On the 3d day of November.

A. D.
1761.

King's
speech.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

At the opening of the first parliament, summoned and elected under my authority, I with pleasure take notice of an event, which has made me completely happy, and given universal joy to my loving subjects. My marriage with a princess, eminently distinguished for every virtue and amiable endowment, whilst it affords me all possible domestic comfort, cannot but highly contribute to the happiness of my kingdoms ; which has been, and always shall be, my first object in every action of my life.

It has been my earnest wish, that this first period of my reign might be marked with another felicity ; the restoring of the blessings of peace to my people, and putting an end to the calamities of war, under which so great a part of Europe suffers. But though overtures were made to me, and my good brother and ally the King of Prussia, by the several belligerent powers, in order to a general pacification, for which purpose a congress was appointed ; and propositions were made to me by France for a particular peace with that crown, which were followed by an actual negotiation ; yet that congress hath not hitherto taken place, and the negotiation with France is entirely broken off.

The sincerity of my disposition to effectuate this good work, has been manifested in the progress of it : and I have the consolation to reflect, that the continuance of the war, and the farther effusion of christian blood, to which it was the
desire

desire of my heart to put a stop, cannot with justice be imputed to me. A. D. 1764.

Our military operations have been in no degree suspended or delayed : and it has pleased God to grant us farther important successes, by the conquests of the islands of Belleisle and Dominica ; and by the reduction of Pondicherry, which hath in a manner annihilated the French power in the East Indies. In other parts, where the enemy's numbers were greatly superior, their principal designs and projects have been generally disappointed, by a conduct, which does the highest honour to the distinguished capacity of my general Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and by the valour of my troops. The magnanimity and ability of the King of Prussia have eminently appeared, in resisting such numerous armies, and surmounting so great difficulties.

In this situation, I am glad to have an opportunity of receiving the truest information of the sense of my people, by a new choice of their representatives. I am fully persuaded you will agree with me in opinion, that the steady exertion of our most vigorous efforts, in every part where the enemy may still be attacked with advantage, is the only means that can be productive of such a peace, as may with reason be expected from our successes. It is therefore my fixed resolution, with your concurrence and support, to carry on the war in the most effectual manner for the interest and advantage of my kingdoms ; and to maintain, to the utmost of my power, the good

A. D. 1761. faith and honour of my crown, by adhering firmly to the engagements entered into with my allies. In this I will persevere, until my enemies, moved by their own losses and distresses, and touched with the miseries of so many nations, shall yield to the equitable conditions of an honourable peace; in which case, as well as in the prosecution of the war, I do assure you, no consideration whatever shall make me depart from the true interests of these my kingdoms, and the honour and dignity of my crown.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I am heartily sorry, that the necessity of large supplies appears so clearly from what has already been mentioned. The proper estimates for the services of the ensuing year shall be laid before you; and I desire you to grant me such supplies, as may enable me to prosecute the war with vigour, and as your own welfare and security, in the present critical juncture, require; that we may happily put the last hand to this great work. Whatsoever you give, shall be duly and faithfully applied.

I dare say your affectionate regard for me and the Queen, makes you go before me in what I am next to mention; the making an adequate and honourable provision for her support, in case she should survive me. This is what not only her royal dignity, but her own merit calls for; and I earnestly recommend it to your consideration.

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

A. D.
1761.

I have such a confidence in the zeal and good affections of this parliament, that I think it quite superfluous to use any exhortations to excite you to a right conduct. I will only add, that there never was a situation in which unanimity, firmness, and dispatch, were more necessary for the safety, honour, and true interest of Great Britain."

This speech met with a cordial reception in both ^{Address} houses; who entirely approved of his Majesty's ^{of the} conduct towards France, and of his vigilance and ^{House.} firmness in continuing the preparations for a vigorous war. They congratulated his Majesty on the reduction of Belleisle and Dominique, and on the destruction of the French in the East Indies. They declared their satisfaction in the conduct of Prince Ferdinand, and admired the unshaken resolution of the King of Prussia. They assured his Majesty, he might depend upon their entire concurrence and support in the most effectual prosecution of the war, for the interest and advantage of Great Britain; and in maintaining, to the utmost of their power, the good faith and honour of his crown, and the engagements entered into with his allies. They declared themselves truly sensible, that the constant care and attention of his Majesty to pursue the most vigorous measures, in every part, where any successful impression could still be made upon the enemy, were the only means to attain that desirable object, an honourable and lasting peace. They acknowledged them-

A. D. 1761. themselves greatly indebted to his Majesty for the solemn declaration, that as well in the prosecution of the war, as in the conclusion of the peace, no consideration whatever should induce him to depart from the true interests of his kingdoms, and from the honour and dignity of his crown. They promised to grant such supplies, as the nature and extent of the several services should be found to require: and concluded with saying, "that sensible of the difficult crisis in which they were assembled, they were determined to concur with the greatest firmness and unanimity, in whatever might contribute towards the public welfare, might tend to defeat the views and expectations of their enemies; and convince the world that there were no difficulties, which his Majesty's wisdom and perseverance, with the assistance of his parliament, could not surmount.

How received by the people.

However, though both houses of parliament echoed the speech from the throne with such marks of gratitude and affection, and, as we shall see, granted all that was asked for the support of the war and our allies; the people without could not let it pass without expressing their surprize, That his Majesty should mention the King of Prussia with so much zeal and friendship, and declare his resolution, "to maintain, to the utmost
 " of his power, the good faith and honour of his
 " crown, by adhering firmly to the engagements
 " entered into with his allies;" amongst whom we must allow the King of Prussia a principal place; yet the treaty with Prussia was not renewed,
 nor

nor was the subsidy granted¹. They also were at A. D. 1761.
 as great a loss, to account for a total suppression of
 the conduct of the court of Spain towards Great
 Britain; which, at this time, it was manifest to all
 the world, was resolved to join her arms with France
 against us. For, the French made no secret of
 their new alliance. As soon as the Family Com-
 pact was signed, the French ministry availed
 themselves thereof immediately, in all the courts
 of Europe, in which, by way of triumph and
 terror to the neutral powers, they ordered their
 agents and emissaries to boast, that Spain was there-
 by obliged to assist them in a vigorous prosecution
 of the war against England, in case they could
 not obtain a peace agreeable to the interests of both
 France and Spain.

Whatever might be the reasons of state for so much reservedness; the House of Commons^{Supplies granted.}
 shewed, by their votes, that they were not insen-
 sible of the critical situation of these kingdoms, in
 regard to a war with Spain. They went thro' the
 estimates with diligence, and they granted all that
 was asked with a generosity, that vastly exceeded
 the supplies of former years. Seventy thousand sea-
 men: 67,676 land forces, besides the militia of
 England, two regiments of sensible men in North
 Britain, the provincial troops in North America,
 and 67,177 German auxiliaries, to support the
 war in Westphalia, for the service of the year
 1762. For the payment of which sea and land

¹ See Vol. V. page 95.

A. D. 1761. forces, to make good foreign subsidies, and the deficiencies in the grants of the last sessions, there was granted the sum of 18,617,895 l. 2s. 8d. of which, twelve millions were borrowed on capital annuities, at four per cent. with an addition of one per cent. per ann. for 99 years : by way of specimen of that œconomy, which the nation was taught to expect from the frugality and good management of the public money, under the new administration.

Spanish
ambassa-
dor deli-
vers a note
to Lord
Egremont

While the parliament was employed to find out ways and means to pay the supplies voted in pursuance of the ministerial estimates laid before them, the court received advice of the indignity with which their ambassador had been treated at Madrid^k, and of his departure from the court of Spain. The Spanish ambassador, the Count de Fuentes, had also received his recall, and was ordered to deliver a note to the Earl of Egremont, to justify his departure from the court of London, and in some manner to serve for a declaration of war, calculated for sowing jealousies, and fomenting divisions, among the subjects of Great Britain^l : a note penned with that acrimony and indecency,

^k See page 253. Vol. V.

^l *Translation of a note delivered to the Earl of Egremont, by the Count de Fuentes, December 25, 1761.*

The Count de Fuentes, the Catholic King's ambassador to his Britannic Majesty, has just received a courier from his court, by whom he is informed, that my Lord Bristol, his Britannic Majesty's ambassador at the court of Madrid, has said

decency, that it disclosed an enmity and inveteracy of a long time standing against this nation :
and

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said to his excellency Mr. Wall, minister of state, that he had orders to demand a positive and categorical answer to this question, viz. If Spain thinks of allying herself with France against England? And to declare, at the same time, that he should take a refusal to his demand for an aggression and declaration of war : and that he should, in consequence, be obliged to retire from the court of Spain. The above minister of state answered him, that such a step could only be suggested by the spirit of haughtiness and of discord, which, for the misfortune of mankind, still reigns but too much in the British government : that it was in that very moment that the war was declared, and the King's dignity violently attacked ; that he might retire now, and when he should think proper.

The Count de Fuentes is, in consequence, ordered to leave the court and the dominions of England, and to declare to the British King, to the English nation, and to the whole universe, that the horrors into which the Spanish and English nations are going to plunge themselves, must be attributed only to the pride, and to the unmeasurable ambition of him who has held the reins of government, and who appears still to hold them, although by another hand : That, if his Catholic Majesty, excused himself from answering on the treaty in question, between his Catholic Majesty and his most Christian Majesty, which is believed to have been signed the 15th of August, and wherein it is pretended, there are conditions relative to England, he had very good reason ; first, the King's dignity required him to manifest his just resentment of the little management, or, to speak more properly, of the insulting manner, with which all the affairs of Spain have been treated during Mr. PITT's administration ; who, finding himself convinced of the justice, which supported the King in his pretensions, his ordinary and last answer was, 'That he would not relax in any thing till the Tower of London was taken sword in hand.

Besides;

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1761.

and containing so much rancour and disgust against Mr. PITT in person, that his original piece may not

Besides, his Majesty was much shocked to hear the haughty and imperious tone, with which the contents of the treaty were demanded of him : if the respect due to royal Majesty had been regarded, explanations might have been had without any difficulty : the ministers of Spain might have said frankly to those of England, what the Count de Fuentes, by the King's express order, declares publicly, viz. That the said treaty is only a convention between the family of Bourbon, wherein there is nothing which has the least relation to the present war : that there is in it an article for the mutual guaranty of the dominion of the two sovereigns ; but it is specified therein, that the guaranty is not to be understood but of the dominions which shall remain to France, after the present war shall be ended : that although his Catholic Majesty might have had reason to think himself offended by the irregular manner, in which the memorial was returned to M. de Buffy, minister of France, which he had presented for terminating the differences of Spain and England, at the same time with the war between this last and France : He has, however, dissembled ; and from an effect of his love of peace, caused a memorial to be delivered to my Lord Bristol, wherein it is evidently demonstrated, that the step of France, which put the minister, PITT, into so bad humour, did not at all offend either the laws of neutrality, or the sincerity of the two sovereigns : that, further, from a fresh proof of his pacific spirit, the King of Spain wrote to the King of France, his cousin, that if the union of interest in any manner retarded the peace with England, he consented to separate himself from it, not to put any obstacle to so great a happiness : but it was soon seen, that this was only a pretence on the part of the English minister, for that of France, continuing his negociation, without making any mention of Spain, and proposing conditions, very advantageous and honourable for England, the minister, PITT, to the great astonishment of the universe, rejected them with disdain, and shewed,

not be improperly termed, *The Spanish Monarch's* A. D. 1761.
declaration of war against the person of the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT, Esq. But whatever might be intended by such an unprecedented attack upon that gentleman out of office, his Catholic Majesty's false and indecent imputations against the late secretary of state, were considered by the candid and impartial public, to be the highest compliment that could be paid to that able and upright minister.

The court of London penetrating into the bad An answer thereunto
 intention of this declaration, or note, delivered by the Count de Fuentes, did on the 31st of the same month deliver, and cause it afterwards to be made public, an answer, to prevent as much as possible, the evil tendency of so virulent and false an accusation, in order to make the court of London appear the source of all the misfortunes, which might ensue from the rupture between Great Britain and Spain¹.

Such

shewed at the same time his ill-will against Spain, to the scandal of the same British council; and unfortunately he has succeeded but too far in his pernicious design.

This declaration made, the Count de Fuentes desires his Excellency, my Lord Egremont, to present his most humble respects to his Britannic Majesty, and to obtain for him the passports, and all other facilities, for him, his family, and all his retinue, to go out of the dominions of Great Britain, without any trouble, and to go by the short passage of the sea, which separates them from the continent.

¹ Translation of the answer delivered to the Count de Fuentes by the Earl of Egremont, December 31, 1761.

The Earl of Egremont, his Britannic Majesty's secretary of state, having received from his excellency the Count de Fuentes,

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1761.

Privateers
&c. taken
from the
French.

Such was the situation of our affairs, at the conclusion of the year 1761, in regard to Spain and France; but

entes, ambassador of the Catholic King at the court of London, a paper, in which, besides the notification of his recall, and the demand of the necessary passports to go out of the King's dominions, he has thought proper to enter into what has just passed between the two courts, with a view to make that of London appear as the source of all the misfortunes which may ensue from the rupture which has happened: in order that nobody may be misled by the declaration, which his excellency has been pleased to make to the King, to the English nation, and to the whole universe; notwithstanding the insinuation, as void of foundation as of decency, of the spirit of haughtiness and of discord, which his excellency pretends, reigns in the British government, to the misfortune of mankind; and notwithstanding the irregularity and indecency of appealing to the English nation, as if it could be separated from its King, for whom the most determined sentiments of love, of duty, and of confidence, are engraved in the hearts of all his subjects; the said Earl of Egremont, by his Majesty's orders, laying aside, in this answer, all spirit of declamation and of harshness, avoiding every offensive word, which might hurt the dignity of sovereigns, without stooping to invectives against private persons, will confine himself to facts with the most scrupulous exactness: and it is from this representation of facts, that he appeals to all Europe, and to the whole universe, for the purity of the King's intentions, and for the sincerity of the wishes his Majesty has not ceased to make, as well for the moderation he always has shewed, though in vain, for the maintenance of friendship and good understanding between the British and Spanish nations.

The King having received undoubted information, that the court of Madrid had secretly contracted engagements with that of Versailles, which the ministers of France laboured to represent, in all the courts of Europe, as offensive to Great Britain,

but we cannot close the account of our naval transactions within that time, without adding to the losses of

A. D.
1761.

Britain, and combining these appearances with the step, which the court of Spain had, a little time before, taken towards his Majesty, in avowing its consent, (though that avowal had been followed by apologies) to the memorial presented the 23d of July, by the Sieur de Bussy, minister plenipotentiary of the most Christian King, to the King's secretary of state; and his Majesty having, afterwards, received intelligence, scarce admitting a doubt, of troops marching, and of military preparations making in all the ports of Spain, judged that his dignity, as well as his prudence, required him to order his ambassador at the court of Madrid, by a dispatch dated the 28th of October, to demand, in terms the most measured however, and the most amicable, a communication of the treaty recently concluded between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, or at least of the articles which might relate to the interests of Great Britain; and, in order to avoid every thing, which could be thought to imply the least slight of the dignity, or even the delicacy, of his Catholic Majesty, the Earl of Bristol, was authorised to content himself with assurances, in case the Catholic King offered to give any, that the said engagements did not contain any thing that was contrary to the friendship which subsisted between the two crowns, or that was prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain, supposing that any difficulty was made of shewing the treaty. The King could not give a less equivocal proof of his dependence on the good faith of the Catholic King, than in shewing him an unbounded confidence, in so important an affair, and which so essentially interested his own dignity, the good of his kingdoms, and the happiness of his people.

How great, then, was the King's surprize, when, instead of receiving the just satisfaction which he had a right to expect, he learnt from his ambassador, that having addressed himself to the minister of Spain for that purpose, he could only draw from him a refusal to give a satisfactory answer to his Majesty's just requisitions, which he had accompanied with

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§

terms

A. D. of the French shipping in the former years of this
1761. war, one hundred and seventeen privateers and
armed

terms that breathed nothing but haughtiness, animosity, and menace; and which seemed so strongly to verify the suspicions of the unamicable disposition of the court of Spain, that nothing less than his Majesty's moderation, and his resolution taken to make all the efforts possible to avoid the misfortunes inseparable from a rupture, could determine him to make a last trial; by giving orders to his ambassador to address himself to the minister of Spain, to desire him to inform him of the intentions of the court of Madrid towards that of Great Britain in this conjuncture, if they had engagements, or formed the design to join the King's enemies in the present war, or to depart, in any manner, from the neutrality they had hitherto observed; and to make that minister sensible, that, if they persisted in refusing all satisfaction on demands so just, so necessary, and so interesting, the King could not but consider such a refusal as the most authentic avowal, that Spain had taken her part, and that there only remained for his Majesty to take the measures which his royal prudence should dictate for the honour and dignity of his crown, and for the prosperity and protection of his people: and to recall his ambassador.

Unhappily for the public tranquillity, for the interest of the two nations, and for the good of mankind, this last step was as fruitless as the preceding ones; the Spanish minister, keeping no further measures, answered dryly; "That it was in that very moment, that the war was declared, and the King's dignity attacked, and that the Earl of Bristol might retire how, and when, he should think proper."

And in order to set in its true light the declaration, "That if the respect due to his Catholic Majesty had been regarded, explanations might have been had without any difficulty, and that the ministers of Spain might have said frankly, as Mons. de Fuentes, by the King's express order, declares publicly, that the said treaty is only a convention between the family of Bourbon; wherein there is nothing which has the least rela-

tion

armed merchantmen, which mounted 698 carriage guns and 239 swivels, and carried 5576 men: A. D. 1761.

tion to the present war; and that the guaranty, which is therein specified, is not to be understood but of the dominions, which shall remain to France after the war;" it is declared, that very far from thinking of being wanting to the respect, acknowledged to be due to crowned heads, the instructions, given to the Earl of Bristol, have always been to make the requisitions, on the subject of the engagements between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, with all the decency, and all the attention possible; and the demand of a categorical answer was not made till after repeated, and the most stinging refusals to give the least satisfaction, and at the last extremity; therefore, if the court of Spain ever had the design to give this so necessary satisfaction, they had not the least reason that ought to have engaged them to defer it to the moment, when it could no longer be of use. But, fortunately, the terms, in which the declaration is conceived, spare us the regret of not having received it sooner; for it appears at first sight, that the answer is not at all conformable to the demand: We wanted to be informed, *if the court of Spain intended to join the French, our enemies, to make war on Great Britain, or to depart from their neutrality*: whereas the answer concerns one treaty only, which is said to be of the 15th of August, carefully avoiding to say the least word, that could explain, in any manner, the intentions of Spain towards Great Britain, or the further engagements they may have contracted in the present crisis.

After a deduction, as exact as faithful, of what has passed between the two courts, it is left to the impartial public to decide, which of the two has always been inclined to peace, and which was determined on war.

As to the rest, the Earl of Egremont has the honour to acquaint his excellency the count de Fuentes, by the King's order, that the necessary passports for him shall be expedited, and that they will not fail to procure him all possible facilities for his passage to the port which he shall think most convenient.

A. D. 1761. and six ships of the line and eight king's frigates, which together carried 636 guns and 6240 men: besides a considerable number of merchantmen, amongst whom were four East India ships^m of very great value. Though it must be acknowledged, and indeed it could not be expected to be otherwise, when the enemy had so many privateers at sea, where they ventured the whole remains of their strength, to interrupt our merchantile navigation, had very few merchantmen of their own, very little commerce across the ocean, and our ships under convoy did not obey the King's ships sent to protect themⁿ; the loss of the English exceeded

^m The Berten, from Port L'Orient to the Isle of France and Pondicherry, pierced for 64, mounting 28 guns, 353 men, including 93 soldiers, laden with ordnance and naval stores, merchandize, and 24,000 dollars in specie. Cargo valued by the Captain at 90,000l. sterling. The Boulogne, 20 guns, homeward bound, 140 men. Cargo valued at 40,000l. Le Beaumont, 22 guns, 600 tons, 280 men, taken by the King George privateer, of 24 guns, 240 men, Captain Reid commander, after an obstinate engagement of seven hours; in which the French had 60 men killed, the privateer 25 killed. Cargo valued at 90,000l.

ⁿ *Extract of a letter from Captain Innes, commander of the Enterprize, to Mr. Cleveland, dated in the Downs.*

"I cannot help informing their Lordships of the bad behaviour of the masters of the convoys in general; for the whole voyage, they never obeyed any one signal that tended to keep them in their stations, and it was in vain to fire shot to compel them, because they took care to be scattered about so much, that they seldom were within gun shot; and when I shortened sail for the bad sailing ships, most of the others kept a head, and to windward, often as far off as we could but

exceeded that of the enemy's ships, in the proportion of three to one, in number, though much inferior in strength and value°. A. D.
1761.

We must also do justice to the character of Captain Smith, and Mr. M'Bride, commander of the *Grace* armed cutter. Captain Smith, in his Majesty's ship *Seahorse*, of 20 guns and 160 men, engages the *Le Grand* frigate, of 34 guns, about

but see their hulls, and frequently in the mornings, the *Enterprise* was the hindermost ship of the fleet, except one or two bad sailing ships, that I made my study to keep sight of. In the night time I did fire some shot at them, in hopes it would put them in mind of doing their duty; according to the instructions they had from me; but instead of that, I had the mortification to see my signals, which were made in the King's ship, disobeyed with contempt, and found it was in vain to throw away any more powder and shot at them, as I might have fired all that was in the ship without answering any end. I may venture to say, if the ships that lost company with me had kept in their stations as they ought to have done, so many ships would not have been taken, as I brought home some of the worst sailing ships in the fleet."

° The French took 814 ships from the English in the course of the year 1761; amongst which we do not meet with any ship of great value, except the *Ajax* Indiaman, Captain Lindsey, from Bengal, valued at 200,000*l.* and only one small vessel, the *Speedwell* cutter, of eight guns, belonging to the navy, whose Captain, (James Allen, Esq;) was honourably acquitted by a court martial, who were unanimously of opinion, that the said cutter, being taken in the harbour of *Vigo*, was an illegal capture.

There were 25,000 and upwards of French prisoners in our possession, notwithstanding the many exchanges made by cartel-ships during this year. The number of English prisoners in France did not exceed 1200.

A. D. 1761. 34 leagues S. W. of the Start, on the 11th of January, for an hour and a quarter with great warmth, within pistol shot, during which the ships were board and board three several times, with great slaughter on both sides. But the Unicorn, of 28 guns, coming within two gun shot of them, the Le Grand steered away, and notwithstanding Captain Smith's endeavours to bring him to action a second time, the French frigate escaped, having killed eleven of the crew in the Seahorse, and wounded thirty-eight. This action was esteemed amongst the bravest, and the captain was introduced, and received most graciously by his Majesty, on that account, and promoted to a better command in the navy.

Mr. M'Bride, being off Dunkirk with the Grace armed cutter, and observing a dogger privateer in the road, he immediately left his station to join the Maidstone, and proposed cutting out the privateer that night, if Captain Digges would let him have four boats manned and armed; which he very readily complied with, knowing his abilities and resolution. The boats left the ships at ten o'clock at night; and when they came near the road, they laid all their oars across, except two in each boat, which they muffled with bayes, to prevent their being heard at a distance. They rowed in that manner till they were within musket shot of the privateer; and, being hailed, they made no answer; but in a few minutes boarded him on both sides, and took possession of him without the

the loss of a man, and only two were wounded. A. D. 1761.
Mr. M'Bride shot the lieutenant of the privateer through the head with a musket, as he was pointing a gun into the boat; and one common man was killed, and five wounded. This was done within half gun-shot of a fort on the east side of the harbour, but the fort did not fire at them; and when the prisoners were secured, they cut the cables, and sailed out of the road.

The END of the SIXTH BOOK.





THE
GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
LATE WAR.

BOOK VII.

Containing the war between Great Britain and Spain ; and between France, Spain and Portugal. The continuation of the war with France. The conquests of the Island of Martinico, and of the Grana-dilloes, Granada, St. Vincent, &c. The battles of Williamstadt and Friedberg, and other actions between the allies and French in Germany. The state of the war between the King of Prussia and his confederate enemies. Peace between his Prussian Majesty and the Czar of Muscovy and the Swedes. The surrender of Schweidnitz. His advantages over the Austrians and Imperialists at Reichenbach, &c. The siege and conquest of the Havannah. French invasion of Newfoundland. Negotiations of peace renewed between Great Britain and France ; and preliminaries signed between Great Britain, France

France and Spain. The conquest of the Manillas ; and the unfortunate expedition against the Spanish settlement of Buenos Ayres. The definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain, France and Spain, including Portugal.

THE Spanish court, having signed the Family Compact with France, in August, only waited the arrival of their riches from South America, and to make such preparations for the security of their trade and territories, as the nature of their navigation, and the situation and condition of their colonies required. So that, as soon as their ships of war were ready to put to sea^a; and ordnance of all sorts had been sent to America

A. D.
1762.
Conduct
of Spain.

^a Eleven ships of the line were ready at Ferrol: and their navy, by the following list, made a very respectable appearance.

A List of the SPANISH NAVY, as it stood in 1759.

	Guns.		Guns.
El Phoenix	80	El Guerriero	68
El Rayo	80	El Vencedor	68
La Rayna	70	El Soberano	68
El Tygre	70	El Hector	68
La Galicia	70	El Gallardo	68
El Infanto	70	El Magnanimo	68
La Princesa	70	El Dichoso	68
El San Philippe	70	El Diligente	68
El Oriente	68	El Triumfante	68
El Levia	68	El Monarcho	68
El Aquillon	68	El Serio	68
El Neptuno	68	El Arogante	68
El Brillante	68	El Superbe	68
El Glorioso	68	El Ponderoso	68
		El Con-	

A. D. 1762. America, and a large body of troops were ready at Cadiz to follow, for the defence of their islands and colonies, their pacific and soothing declarations and

	Guns.		Guns.
El Contente	68	La Venganza	24
El Hercules	68	La Victoria	24
El Principe	68	La Ermiona	24
El Victorioso	68	Galgo	22
El Terrible	68	La Dorado	22
El Atlante	68	La Peria	22
Africa	68	La Aquila	22
El Firme	68	La Frecha	22
El Aquiles	68	El Gazutta	22
La Espana	62	El Catalan	22
Ferdinando	60	El Ibicinea	22
Asia	60	La Flora	20
El Septentrion	60	El Diligence	—
El America	60	El Jason	20
El Dragon	60	La Conception	20
La Europe	60	El Gabilan	20
La Castilla	60	Gilano Xebeck	18
El Champion	58	El Mercurio	18
El Tridente	58	El Jupiter	18
El Conquestador	58	El Vofante	18
El Atstuto	58	El Cufador	18
El Fuerte	50	Mars sloop	16
Adventurero	30	La Liebre	16
Andaluzio	30	El Galgo	16
La Esmeraldo	30	El Majorquin	16
La Pallas	26		
La Juno	26	<i>Bomb ketches.</i>	
La Estrea	26	El Esterope	16
La Ventura	26	El Bronse	16
La Venus	26	El Pieramonte	16
La Industrie	26	El Bulcano	16
La Liebre	26		

Fire

and behaviour towards the British ambassador at Madrid were changed into hostile and indecent menaces and imputations, that discovered their intention to proceed to an immediate rupture; and before their unprecedented ill treatment of the Earl of Bristol, and their hostile resolution could

A. D.
1762.

	Guns.		Guns.
<i>Fire Ships.</i>		El Bolompago	
El Valenciano	14	El Rayo	
El Trueno			
San Ferdinando, pierced for 60 guns, served as a hulk at Cadiz.			

Addition made to the Spanish Navy, in 1760-1.

	Guns.		Guns.
El Monarco	86	El Gujon	70
La Nuova Princessa	84	El Diamante	64
El Elephante	76	El St. Geronimo	60
El Vigorozo	74		

Recapitulation of the above list.

	Guns.		Guns.
One ship of	86	Three	30
One	84	Seven	26
Two	80	Three	24
One	76	Eight	22
One	74	Five	20
Seven	70	Five	18
Twenty-nine	68	Four	16
One	64		
One	62	<i>Bomb Ketches.</i>	
Eight	60	Four	16
Four	58	One	14
One	50	Four Fire-ships	

And the hulk at Cadiz, making in all 101 sail.

be

A. D. 1762. be communicated to the British court, orders were issued out, from the King of Spain, to the governors of the sea-port towns of that kingdom, for the detention of English ships.^b

Detention of the English ships. This

^b *Copy of the King of Spain's orders to the governors of the sea-port towns of that kingdom, for the detention of the English ships. Translated from the original Spanish.*

Buen Retiro, Dec. 10, 1761.

“ His Majesty is pretty sure that the King of England has already, or will, in a few days, declare war, or cause hostilities to be commenced against his Majesty's subjects : on this supposition, and until we are informed what conduct the English will observe in their rupture with Spain, which their injustice has occasioned, it is his Majesty's will, that the ships of that nation that should be found in any of the ports of his dominions shall be detained, declaring at the same time, that this is only done to keep them as a deposit, and which is to be effected with the precautions that the concerned shall think proper to take for the preservation of the ships and cargoes, till his Majesty finds that the King of England begins the war, agreeable to the regulations established amongst civilized nations, when they will be set at liberty. To put in execution this his Majesty's orders, and that nothing may be wanting to obtain the true object thereof, it is necessary that your Lordship will make seizure of all the English ships, either men of war or merchantmen, that should be found in the ports of your jurisdiction, taking off their rudders, and securing their papers, to prevent their putting out to sea : care shall be taken that no ill treatment is offered to their crews, and that no hurt be done to their cargoes, taking what measures should be requisite to the satisfaction of their respective owners for their preservation.

It is likewise his Majesty's pleasure, that an embargo shall be laid in all the ports of Spain (till new orders) on all ships or vessels of any nation whatsoever, beginning with the Spanish ships

This haughty, insolent and hostile conduct of A. D.
 Spain, fully confirmed the suspicions and the pro- 1762.
 priety of the advice of Mr. PITT and Lord Tem- Remarks
 ple: what an opportunity was lost! whosoever
 considers the situation of Spain (unprepared as
 she was, when the written advice was given) with
 respect to her ports, her ships of war in those
 ports, her colonies, her commerce, her own as
 well as the riches of France on board her ships,
 can never sufficiently lament the loss of an au-
 tumnal campaign to find her employment at
 home; if his Catholic Majesty would then have
 preferred war to the voice of peace. But if we
 add, that the English fleet was, at no time so
 formidable, her seamen never so full of spirits,
 and flushed with repeated victories; for in Europe
 only we had 140 ships of war, and above 100 of our Strength
 more in distant parts of the world; posterity will fleet.
 sink in amazement at the supineness and neglect of
 that critical period, in which Europe, as well as
 England, might have been delivered from the rest-

ships, in order to hinder any intelligence that might be given
 to the enemy of this rupture, and to provide against the dan-
 ger that, by such information, the Spanish men of war, or
 merchantmen, now at sea, would run of being seized by the
 enemy.

This order has no other exception, but that no obstruction
 or hindrance shall be put to the departure from this port of any
 vessel that Don Juan de Arraiga, or the ministers of the ma-
 rine department, shall think proper to send out. The King
 trusts to your prudence and zeal for the execution of his
 orders."

less

A. D. 1762. less ambition, and continual hostilities of the House of Bourbon.

Reality of
the Family
Compact.

By this time also the court of London were convinced of the reality of the Family Compact; and of its dangerous tendency, to monopolize the trade and commerce of all the world, and to establish an universal monarchy in the House of Bourbon. Therefore, no time was now to be trifled away

** Heads of the Family Compact of the House of Bourbon.*

Verfailles, December 24. The treaty of friendship and union, which the King concluded with the King of Spain on the 15th of August 1761, under the denomination of a family convention, the ratifications of which were exchanged on the 8th of September following, is to be printed agreeable to the intention of their Majesties; mean while it hath been thought proper to publish the following faithful abstract of it.

The preamble sets forth the motives for concluding the treaty, and the objects of it. The motives are, the ties of blood between the two Kings, and the sentiments they entertain for each other. The object of it is to give stability and permanency to those duties, which naturally flow from affinity and friendship, and to establish a solemn and lasting monument of that reciprocal interest, which ought to be the basis of the desires of the two monarchs, and of the prosperity of their royal families.

The treaty itself contains twenty-eight articles.

I. Both Kings will, for the future, look upon every power as their enemy, that becomes the enemy of either.

II. Their Majesties reciprocally guaranty all their dominions in whatever part of the world they be situated; but they expressly stipulate that this guaranty shall extend only to those dominions, respectively, of which the two crowns shall be in possession, the moment they are at peace with all the world.

III. The

away in fruitless questions, proposals and negotiations. Spain had pulled off the deceitful mask of
A. D. 1762.
a se-

III. The two Kings extended their guaranty to the King of the Two Sicilies and the infant Duke of Parma, on condition that these two Princes guaranty the dominions of their Most Christian and Catholic Majesties.

IV. Though this mutual inviolable guaranty is to be supported with all the forces of the two Kings, their Majesties have thought proper to fix the succours which are to be first furnished.

V, VI, VII. These articles determine the quality and quantity of these first succours, which the power required engages to furnish the power requiring. These succours consist of ships and frigates of war, and of land forces both horse and foot. Their number is determined, and the posts and stations to which they are to repair.

VIII. The war in which France shall be involved in consequence of her engagements by the treaty of Westphalia, or other alliances with the Princes and States of Germany and the north, are excepted from the cases in which Spain is bound to furnish succours to France, unless some *maritime power take part in those wars*, or France be attacked by land in her own country.

IX. The potentate requiring may send one or more commissaries, to see whether the potentate required hath assembled the stipulated succours within the limited time.

X, XI. The potentate required shall be at liberty to make only one representation on the use to be made of the succours furnished to the potentate requiring: This, however, is to be understood only of cases where an enterprize is to be carried into immediate execution; and not of ordinary cases, where the power that is to furnish the succours is obliged only to hold them in readiness in that part of his dominions which the power requiring shall appoint.

XII, XIII. The demand of succours shall be held a sufficient proof, on one hand, of the necessity of receiving them; and,

A. D. 1762. a secret enemy, had not minced the matter, but publicly and solemnly declared, That his Catholic Majesty

and, on the other, of the obligation to give them. The furnishing of them shall nor, therefore, be evaded under any pretext; and without entering into any discussion, the stipulated number of ships and land forces shall, three months after requisition, be considered as belonging to the potentate requiring.

XIV, XV. The charges of the said ships and troops shall be defrayed by the power to which they are sent: and the power which sends them, shall hold ready other ships to replace those which may be lost by accidents of the seas or of war; and also the necessary recruits and preparations for the land forces.

XVI. The succours above stipulated shall be considered as the least that either of the two monarchs shall be at liberty to furnish to the other: but as it is their intention that a war declared against either, shall be regarded as personal by the other; they agree, that when they happen to be both engaged in war against the same enemy or enemies, they will wage it jointly with their whole forces; and that in such cases they will enter into a particular convention, suited to circumstances, and settle as well the respective and reciprocal efforts to be made, as their political and military plans of operations, which shall be executed by common consent and with perfect agreement.

XVII, XVIII. The two powers reciprocally and formally engage, not to listen to, nor to make, any proposals of peace to their common enemies, but by *mutual consent*; and, in time of peace, as well as in time of war, to consider the interests of the allied crown as their own; to compensate their respective losses and advantages, and to act as if the two monarchies formed only one and the same power.

XIX, XX. The King of Spain contracts for the King of the Two Sicilies, the engagements of this treaty, and promises to cause it to be ratified by that Prince; provided that the

Majesty for the future (viz. from the time of signing the Family Compact) would look upon every power

A. D.
1762.

as

the proportion of the succours to be furnished by his Sicilian Majesty, shall be settled in proportion to his power. The three monarchs engage to support, on all occasions, the dignity and rights of their house, and those of all the Princes descended from it.

XXI, XXII. No other power but those of the august house of Bourbon shall be inserted, or admitted to accede to the present treaty. Their respective subjects and dominions shall participate in the connection and advantages settled between the sovereigns, and shall not do or undertake any thing contrary to the good understanding subsisting between them.

XXIII. The Droit d'Aubaine shall be abolished in favour of the subjects of their Catholic and Sicilian Majesties, who shall enjoy in France the same privileges as the natives. The French shall likewise be treated in Spain and the Two Sicilies, as the natural born subjects of these two monarchies.

XXIV. The subjects of the three sovereigns shall enjoy, in their respective dominions in Europe, the same privileges and exemptions, as the natives.

XXV. Notice shall be given to the powers, with whom the three contracting monarchs have already concluded, or shall hereafter conclude, treaties of commerce, that the treatment of the French in Spain and the Two Sicilies, of the Spaniards in France and the Two Sicilies, and of the Sicilians in France and Spain, shall not be cited nor serve as a precedent; it being the intention of their most Christian, Catholic, and Sicilian Majesties, that no other nation shall participate in the advantages of their respective subjects.

XXVI. The contracting parties shall reciprocally disclose to each other their alliances and negotiations, especially when they have reference to their common interests; and their ministers at all the courts of Europe shall live in the greatest harmony and mutual confidence.

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T

XXVII. This

A. D. as his enemy, that became the enemy of the French
 1762. King. And that they two were determined to
 unite in every measure to promote their reciprocal
 interests, in prejudice to the trade, commerce and
 power of all other nations, not of their family,
 sentiments and religion.

War de-
 clared
 against
 Spain.

These considerations and provocations deter-
 mined the British ministry to declare war against
 Spain on the 4th of January 1762^d. But the
 oppor-

XXVII. This article contains only a stipulation concerning
 the ceremonial to be observed between the ministers of France
 and Spain, with regard to precedency at foreign courts.

XXVIII. This contains a promise to ratify the treaty.

^d *His Majesty's declaration of war against the King of Spain.*

GEORGE R.

The constant object of our attention, since our accession to
 the throne, has been, if possible, to put an end to the cala-
 mities of war, and to settle the public tranquillity upon a solid
 and lasting foundation. To prevent those calamities from
 being extended still farther; and because the most perfect har-
 mony between Great Britain and Spain is at all times the mu-
 tual interest of both nations; it has been our earnest desire to
 maintain the strictest amity with the King of Spain, and to
 accommodate the disputes between Us and that crown in the
 most amicable manner. This object we have steadily pursued,
 notwithstanding the many partialities shewn by the Spaniards
 to Our enemies the French, during the course of the present
 war, inconsistent with their neutrality; and most essential
 proofs have been given of the friendship and regard of the
 court of Great Britain for the King of Spain and his family.
 After a conduct so friendly, and so full of good faith, on Our
 part, it was matter of great surprize to Us, to find a memo-
 rial, delivered on the 23d day of July last, by Mons. Bussy,
 minister

opportunity was slipped. This could not be done A. D.
now with the same prospect of success, as it 1762.
might

minister plenipotentiary of France, to one of Our principal secretaries of state, expressly relating to the disputes between Us and the crown of Spain; and declaring, that if those objects should bring on a war, the French King would be obliged to take part therein. Our surprise was increased, when afterwards this unprecedented and offensive step, made by a power in open war with Us, was avowed by the Spanish minister, to Our ambassador at Madrid, to have been taken with the full approbation and consent of the King of Spain. But, as this avowal was accompanied with the most becoming apologies on the part of the King of Spain, and with assurances, that such memorial never would have been delivered, if it had been foreseen that We should have looked upon it in an offensive light; and that the King of Spain was at liberty, and ready, to adjust all His differences with Great Britain, without the intervention, or knowledge, of France; and soon after, We had the satisfaction to be informed, by Our ambassador at Madrid, that the Spanish minister, taking notice of the reports industriously spread of an approaching rupture, had acquainted Him, that the King of Spain had, at no time, been more intent on cultivating a good correspondence with Us; and as the Spanish ambassador at Our court made repeated declarations to the same effect, We thought ourselves bound, in justice and prudence, to forbear coming to extremities. But the same tender concern for the welfare of Our subjects, which prevented Our accelerating precipitately a war with Spain, if it could possibly be avoided, made it necessary for Us to endeavour to know with certainty, what were the engagements, and real intentions of the court of Spain. Therefore, as we had information, that engagements had been lately contracted between the courts of Madrid and Versailles; and it was soon after industriously spread throughout all Europe, by the ministers of France, that the purport of those engagements was hostile to Great Britain, and that Spain was on the

A. D. might have been, three months before, with a
 1762. sufficient strength on the coast of Spain, ready to
 enter

point of entering into the war ; We directed our ambassador to desire, in the most friendly terms, a communication of the treaties lately concluded between France and Spain ; or of such articles thereof as immediately related to the interests of Great Britain, if any such there were ; or, at least, an assurance that there were none incompatible with the friendship subsisting between Us and the crown of Spain. Our astonishment and concern was great when we learnt, that, so far from giving satisfaction upon so reasonable an application, the Spanish minister had declined answering ; with reasonings and insinuations of every hostile tendency : and as, at the same time, we had intelligence that great armaments were making in Spain, by sea and land, We thought it absolutely necessary to try, once more, if a rupture could be avoided : We therefore directed our ambassador to ask in a firm, but friendly manner, whether the court of Madrid intended to join the French, our enemies to act hostilely against Great Britain, or to depart from its neutrality ; and if he found the Spanish minister avoided to give a clear answer, to insinuate, in the most decent manner, that the refusing, or avoiding to answer a question so reasonable, could only arise from the King of Spain's having already engaged, or resolved to take part against us, and must be looked upon as an avowal of such hostile intention, and equivalent to a declaration of war ; and that he had orders immediately to leave the court of Madrid. The peremptory refusal by the court of Spain to give the least satisfaction, with regard to any of those reasonable demands on Our part, and the solemn declaration at the same time made by the Spanish minister, that they considered the war as then actually declared, prove, to a demonstration, that their resolution to act offensively, was so absolutely and irrevocably taken, that it could not be any longer dissembled, or denied. The King of Spain therefore, having been induced, without any provocation on Our part, to consider the war as already commenced
 against

enter upon action, and to prevent the fatal effects of that invasion of Portugal, which followed; and which not only answered the views of France, to divide our forces, and to increase our national expences, in the defence of an additional ally on the continent, but threatened us with the loss of that lucrative trade, should the King of Spain be permitted to add Portugal to his dominions.

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1762.

The declaration of war was accompanied with his Majesty's commission, empowering the admiralty to issue letters of marque, and commissions for privateers to act against the subjects of Spain. But there were no orders issued out to detain such Spanish ships, as were trading in the ports of Great Britain, and had come into those ports before the declaration of war. They were suffered to sail without interruption. And when the parliament met after their Christmas adjournment, his Majesty, on the 19th of Jan. communicated to both

Commis-
sion for
privateers

against Us, which has in effect been declared at Madrid; We trust, that by the blessing of Almighty God on the justice of our cause, We shall be able to defeat the ambitious designs, which have formed this union between the two branches of the House of Bourbon; having now begun a new war; and portend the most dangerous consequences to all Europe. Therefore, We have thought fit to declare, and do hereby declare war against the said King of Spain; and We will, in pursuance of such declaration, vigorously prosecute the said war, wherein the honour of Our crown, the welfare of Our subjects, and prosperity of Our nation, which We are determined at all times, with our utmost power to preserve and support, are so greatly concerned.

A. D. 1762. houses the necessity he had been under to declare war against Spain, in these words :

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

King's
Speech

I have so often assured you of my sincere disposition to put an end to the calamities of war, and to restore the public tranquillity, on solid and lasting foundations, that no impartial person either at home, or abroad, can suspect me of unnecessarily kindling a new war in Europe. But, it is with concern, I acquaint you, that, since your recess, I have found myself indispensibly obliged to declare war against Spain. The causes are set forth in my public declaration on this occasion ; and therefore I shall not detain you with the repetition of them. My own conduct, since my accession to the throne, as well as that of the late King, my royal grandfather, towards Spain, has been so full of good-will and friendship ; so averse to the laying hold of several just grounds of complaint, which might have been alledged ; and so attentive to the advantages of the Catholic King, and his family ; that it was matter of the greatest surprize to me, to find, that engagements had, in this conjuncture, been entered into between that crown, and France ; and a treaty made, to unite all the branches of the House of Bourbon, in the most ambitious, and dangerous designs against the commerce, and independency of the rest of Europe ; and particularly of my kingdoms,

Whatever

Whatever colours may be endeavoured to be put upon these injurious proceedings of the court of Madrid; I have nothing to reproach myself with; and, though I have left nothing untried, that could have prevented this rupture, I have thought it necessary to prepare against every event. I therefore rely on the divine blessing on the justice of my cause; the zealous, and powerful, assistance of my faithful subjects; and the concurrence of my allies, who must find themselves involved in the pernicious and extensive projects of my enemies.

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I leave these considerations with you, full of the justest confidence, that the honour of my crown, and the interests of my kingdoms, are safe in your hands.

This speech, after mature consideration in both houses of parliament, produced very warm addresses, by which they engaged to support his Majesty, in the most effectual manner, in the prosecution of this new branch of the war, fomented and intended by France to harraßs and to force Great Britain by an extensive and expensive war, to submit to disadvantageous conditions of peace.

On the part of Spain; his Catholic Majesty, though he had commenced hostilities, by the detention of the British ships in his ports, and the restraint that was laid on the British subjects within his dominions, suspended a formal declaration of war, till that ceremony had been solemnly performed at London; waiting for that event, which

Resoluti-
ons of
parlia-
ment.

Spain de-
clares war
against
Great Bri-
tain.

A. D. 1762. was the unavoidable effect of his own hostile proceedings, to form a plausible reason^e for his taking

** The King of Spain's declaration of war, which was published at Madrid on the 18th of January.*

THE KING.

Although I have already taken for a declaration of war by England against Spain, the inconsiderate step of Lord Bristol, the Britannic King's ambassador at my court, when he demanded of Don Richard Wall, my minister of state, what engagements I had contracted with France, making this the condition of his demand, or rather adding this threat, That if he did not receive a categorical answer, he would leave my court, and take the denial for an aggression: and although, before this provocation was received, my patience was tired out with suffering and beholding, on many occasions, that the English government minded no other law, but the aggrandisement of their nation by land, and universal despotism by sea: I was nevertheless desirous to see whether this menace should be carried into execution; or whether the court of England, sensible of the inefficacy of such methods towards my dignity and that of my crown, would not employ others that should be more suitable to me, and make me overlook all those insults. But the haughtiness of the English was so far from containing itself within just bounds; that I have just learnt that on the 2d instant a resolution was taken by the Britannic King in council, to declare war against Spain. Thus, seeing myself under the hard necessity of following this example, which I would never have given, because it is so horrible and so contrary to humanity, I have ordered, by a decree of the 15th instant, that war should likewise be immediately declared, on my part, against the King of England, his kingdoms, estates, and subjects; and that in consequence thereof, proper orders should be sent to all ports of my dominions, where it should be necessary, for their defence and that of my subjects, as well as for acting offensively against the enemy.

For

ing up arms against Great Britain, that had tried every method to prevent a rupture between the two crowns.

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1762.

The

For this end, I order my council of war to take the requisite measures, that this declaration of war may be published at my court, and in my kingdoms, with the formalities usual upon such occasions; and that in consequence all kind of hostilities may be exercised towards the English; that those of them who are not naturalized in Spain may leave my kingdoms; that they may carry on no trade there; and that only those who are employed as artizans may be suffered to remain: that for the future my subjects may have no dealings with those of England, nor with the estates of that crown, for any of their productions or fisheries, particularly cod, or their manufactures or merchandize; so that the inhibition of this trade may be understood to be, and may be in fact, absolute and effective, and stamp a vicious quality and a prohibition of sale on the aforesaid effects, productions, fisheries, cod, merchandize, and manufactures of the dominions of England: that no vessels whatsoever, with the above-mentioned effects on board, may be admitted into my harbours, and that they may not be permitted to be brought in by land, being illicit and prohibited in my kingdoms, though they may have been brought or deposited in buildings, baggage-warehouses, shops, or houses of merchants or other private persons, my subjects or vassals, or subjects or vassals of provinces and states, with whom I am in peace or alliance, or have a free trade, whom, nevertheless, I intend not to hurt, or to infringe the peace, the liberty, and privilege, which they enjoy by treaty, of carrying on a legal trade in my kingdoms with their ships, and the proper and peculiar productions of their lands, provinces, and conquests, or the produce of their manufactures.

I also command that all merchants who shall have in their possession any cod, or other fish, or produce of the dominions of England, shall, in the space of 15 days from the date of this declaration, declare the same, and deliver an account thereof, either

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Pretences
fought to
invade
Portugal.

The next step of the Spanish court was to seek a pretence for invading Portugal, as the most certain

either at my court, or elsewhere, to the officers, who shall be appointed by the Marquis de Squilace, superintendant-general of my revenues, that the whole may be forth-coming: and such of the said effects, of which a list shall not be so delivered in the space of 15 days, shall be immediately confiscated; two months, and no more being allowed, for the consumption of those, which shall be declared; after which time the merchants shall be obliged to carry the said effects to the custom-houses, and, where there is no custom-house, to the houses that serve instead thereof, that they may be publickly sold by an officer or officers nominated for that end, or, if none should be appointed, by the judges; who shall give the produce of the sale to the proprietors; but none of the said merchandizes, prohibited in the manner just prescribed, shall return to their ware-houses or shops.

I have given a separate commission, with all the necessary powers, to the Marquis de Squilace, superintendant-general of my revenues, that, in that quality, he may see that this prohibited trade be not suffered, and that he may immediately issue such orders and instructions, as he shall think necessary for this important end; taking cognizance, in the first instance, in person, and by his subdelegates, of the disputes which shall arise on occasion of this contraband, with an appeal to the council of finances in the hall of justice; except however what relates to contraband military stores, arms, and other effects belonging to war, particularized in treaties of peace, the cognizance of disputes on these articles belonging to the council of war and the military tribunals.

And I command that all, that is above, be observed, executed, and accomplished, under the heavy penalties contained in the laws, pragmatiques, and royal cedules, issued on like occasions in times past, which are to extend also to all my subjects, and the inhabitants of my kingdoms and estates, without any exception, and notwithstanding any privileges; my will being, that

certain means to embroil the British court. For ^{A. D.} this purpose the ministers of France and Spain, ^{1762.} resident at the court of Lisbon, were ordered by their respective masters to declare to the King of Portugal, That those two sovereigns being obliged ^{French} to support a war against the English, had found it ^{and Span-} proper and necessary to establish several mutual and ^{nish me-} reciprocal obligations between themselves[†]; and to ^{morial to} take other indispensable measures to curb the pride ^{the King} of the British nation, which, by an ambitious pro- ^{of Portu-} ject to become despotic over the sea, and consequently over all maritime commerce, pretended to keep dependent the possessions of other powers in the new world, in order to introduce themselves there, either by underhand usurpation, or by conquest. They did not merely invite his Most Faithful Majesty to join in their offensive and defensive alliance; but they insisted upon his immediate compliance with their desire, as a point of duty and interest on his part, and a matter of necessity on theirs, without which it would be impossible (as they confessed) to succeed against the English. They urged him to

that this declaration of war shall come, as soon as possible, to the knowledge of my subjects, as well that they may guard their persons and effects from the insults of the English, as that they may labour to molest them by naval armaments, and by other methods authorised by the law of arms.

Given at Buen-Retiro, January 16, 1762.

I THE KING.

[†] As these obligations were established during the negotiations with England, is it not confessing that France never intended to make peace upon the terms then proposed?

break

A. D.
1762.

break off all correspondence and commerce with England, as the common enemy of the three, and of all maritime nations ; to shut up his ports against the British ships, and to join his forces with France and Spain. The King of Spain endeavoured to confirm the sincerity and advantage of these proposals and demands, by representing, that they came from one, who was the brother of the Queen his wife, a true friend, and a moderate and quiet neighbour, and one that considered the interests of the Most Faithful King as his own, and wished to unite one with the other, so as that, in peace and war, Spain and Portugal might be considered as belonging to one master. But he then remarked, that this could not be done so long as any power in war with Spain, had any expectations of finding shelter and succours in Portugal : and that it would be much more glorious for his Most Faithful Majesty, to have for his ally, a Catholic King, his near relation, his neighbour in Europe and America, to assist each other mutually and with ease, than the English nation, incapable, by their haughtiness, of considering other sovereigns with equality, and always desirous to make them feel the influence of their power : and that Portugal could not want the assistance of England, when by an offensive and defensive alliance, his Most Faithful Majesty should be united with France and Spain. Concluding with a peremptory demand of compliance ; and that he had ordered his troops to march to the frontiers of Portugal to garrison the principal ports of that kingdom, under the
state

state pretence of defending them against the designs of the English. A. D.
1762.

This memorial delivered on the 16th of March 1762, to his Most Faithful Majesty, was immediately answered, on the 20th, by Don Lewis da Cunha, his secretary of state, who, after reciting the contents of the Spanish and French memorials abovementioned, said, That the King his master, having taken the contents thereof into serious consideration, had ordered him to answer; That his most Faithful Majesty was sensibly affected, at seeing the flames of war kindled between the powers, with whom he was closely connected by ties of blood and of friendship, and by solemn treaty, such as Spain, France, and Great Britain: that his most Faithful Majesty wished that those same ties, and the neutrality he observed, might enable him to propose by his mediation, a renewal of the conferences broken off at London, some time since, and to see, if, by this means, it was possible to reconcile interests and minds; so that, without further effusion of human blood, an advantageous, necessary, and useful peace might be obtained. His most
Faithful
Majesty's
answer.

That his most Faithful Majesty, disposed as much as possible to comply with the proposal made on the part of the Catholic and most Christian Kings, desired them nevertheless, to reflect on the insurmountable obstacles, which hindered him from entering into the offensive league proposed to him. That the court of Portugal having ancient and uninterrupted alliance with the British court,

A. D.
1762.

court, for many years past, by solemn and public treaties, purely defensive, and, as such, innocent; and not having received any immediate offence on the part of Great Britain, to break the same treaties, that his most Faithful Majesty could not enter into an offensive league against that court, without being wanting to the public faith, religion, fidelity, and decorum, which were the inviolable principles of his Majesty's mind, and of all religious and magnanimous Princes, such as the Catholic and most Christian Kings.

That besides these considerations, his most Faithful Majesty, loving his subjects as a father, and being obliged to attend to their preservation as King, it was easy to see, that he would be wanting both to one and the other, if he should oblige them to endure the calamities of an offensive war, which they were not in a condition to support, after the misfortunes which had happened in Portugal, by the long sickness of the late King, his Majesty's glorious father; by the earthquake in the year 1755; and by the horrible conspiracy in the year 1758.

That his most Faithful Majesty, upon these principles of religion, humanity and public faith, having embraced the system of neutrality, had given orders to repair his ports, and maritime places, and to provide them with every thing necessary, and to equip a sufficient number of ships of war to protect them: he had caused his troops to be held ready, and at hand, to prevent, in the said ports and maritime places, those accidents
which

which might happen there: all these dispositions A. D. 1762.
having been made for the common advantage of the powers, who were at war, without distinction of any; and in order that the subjects of the same powers might enjoy the protection and hospitality granted, and religiously observed in all times, in the ports of his kingdom, according to the common rule of the law of nations, and the practice of all the courts, who have no interest to take part in the wars, which are kindled between other nations.

In short, the above-mentioned secretary of state of his most Faithful Majesty, had the King's orders to tell his Excellency Don Joseph Torrero, in order that he might transmit it to the King his master, That his most Faithful Majesty, since the accession of his Catholic Majesty to the throne of Spain, had always given him the most distinguished marks of a brother, who loved him; of a brother-in-law, who esteemed him; of a sincere friend, and of a neighbour, who had forgotten nothing to cultivate an intimate correspondence with him, even so far as to stipulate by the last treaty of the 12th of February of the preceding year, even when the acquisitions of the King were in question — "That he preferred to every other interest, that of removing the smallest occasion, that might become an obstacle to, or alter, not only the good correspondence due to his friendship, and to the strict ties of blood; but that might prevent an intimate union between their respective subjects." The King hoped, that the moment his Catholic Majesty

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Majesty should have reflected upon all these marks of love, of friendship, and of uninterrupted dispositions to please him, and should have weighed them with the force of the reasons above-cited, he would see on the one hand that these reasons alone, which exceed the limits of the King's power, hinder him from entering into the league proposed to him; and, on the other hand, he would also see, that it was impossible for any thing to be done in the ports of this kingdom, contrary to the interests of his Catholic Majesty, and to the firm neutrality, which this court considers, as a necessary principle of her system."

His requisition to England, &c. for assistance.

The motions of the Spanish troops, towards the frontiers of Portugal, had, for some time, created disagreeable suspicions and jealousies in the court of Lisbon, which was in no condition to defend itself against so powerful an invader. His faithful Majesty, therefore, made the necessary requisitions to the powers in alliance with him, and that were concerned in the independency of Portugal, for succours under this difficulty. These powers are England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and the town of Hamburgh, which last enjoys as large a share of the trade to Portugal, as the whole kingdom of Great Britain^s. Should not all

What nations interested in his preservation.

^s This was judiciously explained by an author of reputation at this juncture, who writes as follows: They, who are acquainted with the affairs of Portugal, very well know, that the gold and silver brought from her American settlements do not annually amount to more in value than about two millions sterling.

all and every one of these powers have been required to contribute towards the support of the independency of the Portugueze dominions and trade?

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Were

sterling. Of this sum, she pays away in annual balances, we may suppose, seven eighths, to Russia, Sweden, Poland, Denmark, Hamburg and Germany, Holland, Great Britain, France, Spain, all Italy, Turkey, Barbary, and British America, the latter in returns made to England: for to all these she does pay balances, and to several of them very great ones. Her trade with the whole Baltic is almost entirely against her: so is that with France and Spain; and they are all to a very considerable extent. Her ballances paid to Hamburg, Holland, and Italy, are proportionate to that which she pays to Great Britain: and therefore to suppose the latter receives from her, for her own trade and that of America, more than four hundred thousand pounds per annum in specie, in the ordinary course of them, would be making an estimate that I am satisfied must be erroneous. The British trade, on all accounts, is likewise by much the least disadvantageous to Portugal, as hath clearly been proved by many late publications. Should we, therefore, undertake to support Portugal singly, and the extraordinary charges of doing it must come to three millions sterling per annum, we should thereby fight for her, work for her, and pay for her to all other nations, who would divide her whole annual returns from Brasil, and a great deal more from us; which, would be no other than the destroying of ourselves for the doubling of their advantages. Portugal certainly has it in her power to awe the states which she trades with into a resolution of assisting of her; and, before we engage with her too far, it is a power that we should insist upon her resolutely exerting. This she can do by the very rates of duties in her custom-house, and the entering into such a treaty in our favour, as she will owe to her deliverers: for if we do undertake her deliverance and accomplish it, it must be done with the straining

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of

A. D. 1762. Were they not equally engaged by treaty and interest, as Great Britain? Had they unanimously and heartily united in this cause, would they not have been able to maintain its independency against the power of Spain? Would not such a united force have deterred Spain from the attempt on Portugal, or at least have saved England the disagreeable part of taking the whole load of the war upon her own shoulders, and deprived Spain of the only pretence of a rupture with his most Faithful Majesty, his dependance upon England. But how did they behave? The Dutch were applied to: they refused to intermeddle. The King of Portugal demanded succours of their High Mightinesses, but they (as they served England at the breaking out of the French war) refused to grant him any. It does not appear, that there was any requisition made to the other powers interested in the preservation and independency of the kingdom of Portugal: and what is more impolitic, England not only voluntarily took the whole burden upon herself, but undertook to defend Portugal, without paying that regard to our commercial interests, as the necessity required, and the opportunity gave us, to avail ourselves of the conduct of those states, which refused to assist his most Faithful Majesty in this time of need. There could not have been a more favourable opportunity than this, to secure,

Favourable opportunity to recover

and establish our without reaping the full rewards of our service, I call on candour, integrity and truth, to assign good reasons, if they privileges can?"

by

by a new treaty, all such advantages, immunities A. D. 1762.
and privileges, as we were intitled to by former
treaties, but which had been openly and fre-
quently violated^h: nor could it be thought unjust

or

^a The reason for such a new treaty to have our privileges in Portugal certainly affixed and secured from depredation, has been clearly explained by a gentleman, who resided in Portugal many years, who says, "The office of judge conservator is our stipulated right (by the 7th article in Oliver Cromwell's treaty, made in 1654) whose province it is to judge all our causes; but with a right, however, for either party to appeal to a body of judges, who are to give the final sentence within four months. Which rule is so far from being observed, that law-suits may be kept undetermined for forty years. The judge conservator is likewise to protect the subjects of Great Britain from wicked or vexatious insults. But that authority, like every other, is now taken from him; and our merchants, of the most respectable figure, are thereby subjected to the insolences of the meanest fellows in office; for many of them have been carried by such, unheard and unexamined, both with and without orders, to the newgates and gatehouses of the kingdom; and outrages have been committed in their houses and properties; and they, after having proved their own innocence, and the illegality of the proceeding, could obtain no reparation, nor any kind of satisfaction. The navigation articles for America are now become of no account; our ships are not allowed, unless in the utmost distress, to go to any of their colonies, except Magazam, and their African islands. The right of having houses of trade in Brazil, and their other settlements, is entirely taken from us. The right of a legal navigation to Portugal, and commerce there, with an equitable security of property, particularly in perishable commodities, and some of them owing no duties to the King, are stipulated to be free from all embarrassments: and yet, in most of those articles, our merchants are continually

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or unreasonable, for the only supporters of Portugal to have insisted upon this stipulation, before

nually troubled with vexatious obstructions and plunderings. All debts owing to our merchants, by persons sequestered by the King, or inquisition, ought to be made good to the creditors; yet, with regard to the King, it is not, though with respect to the inquisition it is. It is stipulated that neither the King, nor any other power, shall, by arbitrary protections, guard the effects of our debtors from legal executions; yet it is very frequently violated. The article forbidding any protection to our run-away sailors, on a pretence of changing their religion, and obliging them to return to their ships, when demanded, is now not at all regarded by the Portuguese: on the contrary, they are encouraged, in unreasonable and insolent prosecutions of their captains, seduced from their duty, and supported in their resistance; debauched in infamous houses, where they are encouraged to run in debt; for the payment of which they are afterwards sold, like cattle, to the Portuguese and others. Such practices are become a traffic at Lisbon. By Queen Anne's treaty of commerce (which consists of only two articles) made in 1703, it was understood, that we had the *sole exclusive right* of sending our woollen goods, on condition of importing Portuguese wines into Great Britain; till they permitted the Dutch consul, Mr. Hesterman, to explain away the treaty in favour of his country; upon which, Dutch woollen goods were introduced; and then the French, who have no sort of treaty of commerce with the Portuguese, were admitted to introduce *their* woollen manufactures; and yet, all this while, we import the Portuguese wines, agreeable to treaty, without enjoying our full right on their side, though we are the only nation that give them an equivalent. And as to our flag, it has been held in almost utter contempt, as every English inhabitant in Portugal very well knows, who cannot be ignorant of the indignities which have been frequently offered to it, nor of the particular respect which has been constantly paid to that of France."

either

either man or horse had been sent, " That his A. D. 1762.
 " Portugueze Majesty should deprive such states
 " of all commerce with his kingdom, and grant
 " the British subjects an exclusive enjoyment of
 " all the benefits of his trade." They, that singly
 assisted Portugal, ought singly to reap the benefits
 of its trade for the future. But this was not at-Impropr-
 tended to : and what is worse, while we eagerly be-ety of En-
 gan with bearing the *sole* burden of supporting that-gland's
 war ; the other states were allowed to run away with bearing
 the profits of the Portugueze trade. the whole
 burden.

This was not the only mistake of our arming inPortu-
 the defence of Portugal. The Portugueze them-gueze in-
 selves never set a proper value on our friendship,gratitude.
 and had repaid us with bad usage, when we expend-
 ed above two millions sterling in their defence against
 Spain, ready to invade their kingdom, in the year
 1735. Sir John Norris, with thirty sail of the line,
 laid twenty-two months in the Tago, and effectually
 prevented a rupture. This act of friendship was
 almost immediately repaid in the prohibition of our
 leather trade, and in gradually depriving our mer-
 chants of almost every valuable privilege, to which
 they are intitled by national treaties. And it was
 well known, that, at this juncture, they were far
 from being our friends. On the score of religion,
 they universally abhor the English, as a peopleDislike to
 given up to the power of Satan, and to be punish-the Eng-
 ed with him eternally. An abhorrence which no-lish sol-
 diers.
 ways abated with their apprehensions of a Spanish
 invasion : to which power, it is probable, they
 would

A. D. 1762. would rather have now submitted, than to be defended by the English¹.

The

¹ The state of Portugal was thus represented by a sensible writer, who lived many years in that kingdom, and published his sentiments time enough for the ministry to have profited by his information. Alas! the worst foe of Portugal may be an internal one, called disaffection, which may render her dependence precarious on the very army she employs. A disgusted and dishonoured nobility, with their numerous adherents: the relations and partizans of the exterminated Jesuits; the kindred and friends of the poor people who were executed, or ruined, to the disgust of the whole nation, for a very trivial offence at Oporto; with the almost universal disapprovers of the minister, makes the appearance of our undertaking to defend Portugal, to be not only against the whole force of Spain, but against a great part of her own people. During the last war, which we abetted in that country, it is well known we lost a vast abundance of men from the heat of the climate, from their intemperance with green wines, from enmities occasioned by their licentiousness, particularly with the women of that kingdom; and from the abhorrence of them as heretics; though our people were assiduously protected by many of the Portugueze men of fashion, and particularly by one nobleman of the Tavora family, who learned and spoke our language perfectly well, commanded a Portugueze regiment in our pay, and acted so very honourably with regard to religion, as to be even seized by the inquisition for it; but his quality and connexions were too great for their restraining him. Yet, for irregularities and religion, was the animosity of the people of the country so great against our soldiers, that they lived always in a state of war with them, and rarely caught any of them straggling without butchering them without mercy. What we can conveniently contribute towards her assistance, we ought from policy; that policy which binds all other nations as much to the same service, as ourselves. But can we undertake singly to defend her against her enemies, perhaps in some measure against herself, burdened as we are with our own war,
and

The measure was not only culpable in itself, but in the manner of exerting our power in the defence of Portugal. Procrastination destroyed the vigour of the resolution. Instead of expedition, secrecy and strength; the necessary preparations were delayed, till Lord Tyrawley, sent to Lisbon in a public character, of ambassador and general, had gained information of the state of Portugal, and transmitted them to our ministry. Such an open errand could only serve to inform the French and Spaniards, that England would engage in the cause of Portugal; but had not as yet determined how to act. And when it was resolved to send troops to meet the Spaniards in Portugal, instead of carrying war into the heart of Spain, and finding his Catholic Majesty sufficient employment at home, in the defence of his own defenceless extensive coasts, which every where lie open to our navy and privateers; it was proposed, in order to obviate the dislike the Portuguese entertain of our religion, to send four regiments of Irish Papists for that service. Which would have entirely defeated the intended succour, and perhaps completed the ruin of his most Faithful Majesty. For it is well known, that the Spanish army is greatly officered by Irishmen: their convents maintain great numbers of Irish friars: and as all Irishmen become Spaniards as soon as they set foot upon Spanish ground, those regiments

A. D.
1762.Our conduct in
this affair
blame-
able.Danger of
employ-
ing Irish
Papists a-
gainst
Spain.

and so drained of men as we now find ourselves? No honest or wise man can be against our taking our full share of this task upon ourselves; but surely we ought not singly to undertake performing what is the common duty of all.

A. D. 1762. of Irish Papists would, probably, have been very soon seduced by their countrymen, assisted by a great number of Portugueze fugitives, related to the dishonoured nobility, and the friends of the exiled Jesuits; and instead of defending Portugal, they would have added so much more strength to Spain.

Prudent
conduct
of the Por-
tugueze.

The Portugueze ministry acted more prudently. They, upon the first alarm from Spain, began, with the greatest caution and secrecy, to put several of their ports and towns in a posture of defence; and had England proceeded in concert with them, the Spaniards, in all probability, would have met with a warm reception. But instead of that, the British auxiliaries were not sent till June.

French
and Spa-
nish se-
cond me-
morial.

In the mean time the Spanish and French ambassadors presented another memorial^k to the court of Portugal, in reply to the answer given to their first; in which they accuse his most faithful Majesty of partiality towards the English, and want of confidence in his Catholic Majesty; and pretend to prove that his alliances with England were no obstacle to his acceptance of the offensive and defensive league proposed to him by France and Spain: that his reasons for adhering to England were not well founded: and that those alliances with England are far from being innocent^l. They promised him new splendor to his crown, and

^k Dated the 1st of April 1762.

^l They are not an obstacle; because there is no alliance which is obligatory, when the question is to shake off a yoke, which one nation would lay on another; and this is the project, already far advanced, of England on Portugal.

and the greatest advantages to his subjects for acceding to their system; and prognosticated his ruin, by depending upon the risk and uncertainty of the assistance of Great Britain to defend him against Spain. They complained of the succours demanded of England; the residing of an English general, several aids de camp and other officers at Lisbon; and of the military projects concerted by the Portuguese minister at London. They as-

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They are not founded; because, notwithstanding it is assured, that the crown of Portugal has not received any offence from England to induce her to a breach of treaties, the contrary is clearly manifested; for what stronger offence than that of attacking a French squadron in one of the ports of Portugal? this single insult is sufficient to give his most Faithful Majesty a right to declare war against his Britannic Majesty, if he has not given a suitable satisfaction for it; and if he has done it, without, at the same time, obtaining restitution of his most Christian Majesty's ships, the most Christian King has a right to declare war against his most Faithful Majesty.

These alliances are not so innocent, though they are called purely defensive; because they become in reality offensive, from the situation of the Portuguese dominions, and from the nature of the English power: the English squadrons cannot keep the sea in all seasons, or cruize on the principal coasts for cutting off the French and Spanish navigation, without the ports, and the assistance of Portugal: these islanders would not insult all maritime Europe; they would let others enjoy their possessions, and their commerce, if all the riches of Portugal did not pass into their hands: consequently, Portugal furnishes them with the means to make war; and their alliance with the said court is offensive; and if not, it is asked, by what reason England should be obliged to send troops to the assistance of Portugal, and not Portugal to the assistance of England: if it is not, because England finds a compensation in the indirect assistance of Portugal, by means whereof she makes war against Spain and France. *Spanish memorial,*

assured

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ured his most Faithful Majesty, that it was not then too late to secure himself in their alliance : but once more insisted on the demand set forth in the memorial of the 16th of March ; and concluded with a declaration, “That, without further representations, or his consent, the Spanish troops, already on the frontiers, will enter Portugal, for the single object of advancing, till they shall obtain, that the ports of Portugal be not at the disposal of the enemy ; having, at the same time, the most precise orders, not to commit, without reason, the least hostility against the subjects of the most Faithful King ; to pay them, in ready money, for whatever they shall furnish to them, as if the one and the other belonged to the same master. It remains for his most Faithful Majesty to chuse, either to receive these troops as allies, or to refuse them entrance or subsistence, and to oppose them as enemies : for then the two allies will take all possible precautions, on the suspicions already too much founded, that the court of Lisbon, by intelligence, for some time past, with that of London, will march out to meet them, with English forces, in order to hinder their just designs, and to make them bloody, contrary to the sentiments of their heart.”

On the 5th of April his most Faithful Majesty rejoined to this last memorial, by his secretary of state, insisting upon the inoffensiveness of the treaties subsisting between him and England, and upon his indispensable obligation to keep them inviolable. His Majesty proved the unbounded confidence, which

which he had always in the ties of blood; the friendship and the good neighbourhood which he had always cultivated with his Catholic Majesty, by the silence and tranquility with which he had seen, for a long time past, his frontiers almost blocked up and infested; the commerce of corn prohibited; the Spanish magazines upon the said frontiers filled with all sorts of military stores, and the places swarming with troops, without giving the least order to his ambassador at Madrid to demand the object of those preparations. He apologized for inviting English officers to his capital, when all the world rang with the intended invasion of Portugal; and that he had done no more than all other nations are wont to do, when they are in want of experienced officers, without giving any just cause of distrust to their neighbours. He appealed to heaven against the crying injustice of pursuing against Portugal the war kindled against Great Britain; adding that if neutral powers are to be attacked, because they have defensive treaties with the belligerent powers, such a destructive maxim would occasion desolation in Europe, the moment a war was kindled between two nations. And then concluded with a magnanimity and dignity becoming a great and good prince, "That for these reasons, and, in the unexpected case of the Spanish troops entering Portugal (under any pretence whatever) not only without his most Faithful Majesty's permission, but contrary to his express declaration, made in the memorial of the 20th of March, and repeated by the present, making a declared and offensive war against him,

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1762.

him, by this violent and unexpected invasion: in such a case, his most faithful Majesty, no longer able (without offending the laws of God, of nature and of nations, and without universal censure) to avoid doing his utmost for his own defence, has commanded his forces to hold themselves in readiness, and to join with those of his allies, in support of the neutrality, which is the only and single object for which they shall be employed.

His most Faithful Majesty declares finally, that it will affect him less (though reduced to the last extremity, of which the supreme judge is the sole arbiter) to let the last tile of his palace fall, and to see his faithful subjects spill the last drop of their blood, than to sacrifice, together with the honour of his crown, all that Portugal holds most dear, and to submit, by such extraordinary means, to become an unheard of example to all pacific powers, who will no longer be able to enjoy the benefit of neutrality, whenever a war shall be kindled between other powers, with which the former are connected by the defensive treaties."

French
and Spa-
nish third
memorial.

This produced a third memorial^m from the Bourbon alliance; in which the memorialists set forth, that as they had lost all hopes to prevail with his most Faithful Majesty to join with them against Great Britain, their most Christian and Catholic Majesties would compel him, by force of arms, and therefore besought him to direct the necessary pass-

^m On the 27th of April 1761.

ports

ports to be furnished, that each of them might repair to his respective courtⁿ.

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1762.

To

Don Joseph Torrero, his Catholic Majesty's ambassador, and M. Jacques O Dunne, his most Christian Majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the King of Portugal, agreeably to the instructions and orders of their august Sovereigns, to put an end to the negotiations which they are jointly engaged in, and have pursued, in order to bring his most Faithful Majesty over to his true interest, which although exposed to the contingencies of war, yet is surely for his honour and glory, to unite his forces to those of France and Spain, and endeavour to shake off the prejudicial dependency on England, which the Portuguese nation labours under; the said ambassador, and minister plenipotentiary, having lost all hopes that their masters should attain this so laudable and heroic a purpose; either because the Portuguese Monarch and his Ministers, being accustomed to this evil, do not perceive it, or else because the common enemy has gained a despotic power over their understanding; since they will not admit of those reasons which their Catholic and most Christian Majesties have with so much friendship, and such good intentions, represented; and knowing that although very easy, it would be absolutely useless to refute those contained in his Excellency Don Lewis Da Cunha's last memorial, delivered to them the 5th of this month, they will only lay before the most Faithful King, through his means, a cursory refutation thereof.

That it is a matter of great concern to the Kings their masters, that the most Faithful King, by confessing, that England has given him cause to break the defensive treaties, which he does in saying, that it is not of so great, or so immediate, interest to Portugal, as to outweigh the calamities of war; if his most Faithful Majesty has weighed in the same scale those of a war with England, and those of maintaining it against France and Spain, he has chosen the latter, with little regard to their power, and great disregard of their friendship, since he joined himself to one, who has offended him, whether much or little, to offend those, who have given him no other motive than

A. D. 1762. than that of persuading him to what would be most convenient for him.

The King and his ministers cannot, because they will not be persuaded, that these defensive treaties with the English are offensive ones with regard to Spain and France, the arguments to the contrary, alledged in the preceding memorials, being unanswerable ; and the comparing them to those of other powers ill-grounded, his situation and circumstances being extremely different from theirs.

That their most Christian and Catholic Majesties, far from finding any merit in the friendly confidence of his most Faithful Majesty, from the silence observed by his ambassador, at Madrid, upon the military preparations, that were making and carrying on upon the frontiers of Portugal ; this has from the beginning raised in them a distrust, which to their great concern, is now confirmed by the experience of his preferring the alliance of the King of Great Britain to theirs ; for otherwise he would, in a friendly manner, have enquired into the design of such preparations, and have endeavoured to have set on foot a negociation, which their Catholic and most Christian Majesties could not immediately solicit, at the known hazard of having their views discovered, by the court of Lisbon, to that of London, which then held, and still holds, possession of their affections. Certain it is, that that of Lisbon had already taken the resolution within itself, which it is now obliged to discover ; and that the apparent indifference, with which it saw what is called the blockade and infestation of its frontiers, without speaking of it in Madrid, was a latent fire for soliciting succours in London ; thus, opposing disguised preparations to open ones. That, notwithstanding the court of Lisbon insists that there is no difference between her neutrality and that of other powers, and that there is no right to force them out of it, they may be assured, that it is by no means looked upon as a point of indifference, on account of the inconveniencies experienced by Spain in other wars with the English, and be persuaded, that if the breach with their Catholic and most Christian Majesties should bring upon the most Faithful King those, which united with the King of Great Britain, he does not fear, to these will be added the dissatisfaction,

To which the court of Portugal finally replied • A. D. 1762.
 with a becoming spirit of disdain and resentment,
 “ That, setting apart from the substance of the Answered
 business under consideration, the adventitious and
 warm expressions, such as hitherto hath never been
 used between sovereigns, with which the third
 memorial was filled, his most Faithful Majesty
 had found in it nothing new; that by giving an
 opening to negotiation should make him alter his

faction, in the opinion of the most sound and judicious part of
 Europe, of his having had it in his power to avoid them.

That since his most Faithful Majesty erroneously founds his
 own honour, and that of his crown, not in delivering himself
 from the truly oppressive yoke of the English, but in opposing
 the entry of Spanish troops into Portugal, who came to his
 assistance and defence, their Catholic and most Christian Ma-
 jesties found theirs in attempting it, and will sustain it with as
 much inflexibility, as his most Faithful Majesty, when he he-
 roically declares, that rather than abandon Portugal, he will
 see the last tile fall from his palace, and spill the last drop of
 his subjects blood.

And finally, that the most Faithful King having, upon the
 alternative proposed to him, preferred the resisting the entry
 of Spanish troops as enemies, to admitting them as friends;
 and consequently the enmity of their Catholic and most Chris-
 tian Majesties to their friendship, there is nothing more unne-
 cessary, and even unbecoming, than the continuance of the
 above-mentioned ambassador of Spain, and minister plenipo-
 tentiary of France, near his most Faithful Majesty; therefore
 they beseech him, and hope he will be pleased to direct the
 necessary passports to be furnished, that each may immediately
 repair to his respective court.

Lisbon, April 23, 1762.

Don JOSEPH TORRERO.

JACQUES BERNARD O DUNNE.

• On the 25th of April,

former-

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former resolutions : that the effective rupture, which was therein owned, in clear and exprefs terms, was not matter of surprize to his Majesty, after having seen that this unexampled negotiation was opened by notifying to his most Faithful Majesty, in the first memorial of the 16th of March last, that it had been determined between the courts of Paris and Madrid, without any previous notice to his Majesty, to make the neutral kingdom of Portugal the theatre of war, to oblige his most Faithful Majesty calmly to see his provinces and ports occupied by Spanish armies ; to intimate to him, that for this purpose the said armies were already posted upon the frontiers of this kingdom : adding to all this, that he ought not only to infringe all the treaties of peace and commerce which he has with the crown of England, but likewise to declare an offensive war with the said crown , the whole conceived in a stile, by no means gentle or persuasive, but rather expressing, in the strongest terms, that the intention was not to negociate, but to break ; which is confirmed in the second memorial, presented by the said Don Joseph Torrero, and M. Jacques O Dunne, on the first instant, therein declaring, that his Catholic Majesty had already given ultimate orders, that his troops should enter the dominions of this kingdom, without waiting for any other answer, or consent of his most Faithful Majesty.

That his said most Faithful Majesty solely placed his honour and glory, in being faithful to his royal word ; in the observance of the duties of his crown ; and of religion and humanity, which forbid his entering

tering into an offensive war against any power, although ever so indifferent to him, and although not allied by reciprocal treaties, which have been adhered to for this age past; as are those, which subsist with the crown of England. A. D. 1762.

That their Catholic and most Christian Majesties have been informed with very little sincerity, if any body has suggested to them that England had given cause to break those ancient defensive alliances; because, on the contrary, his most Faithful Majesty owes to the crown of Great Britain, all that good harmony, which is the natural effect of those ancient alliances.

That mere conveniency, without any legitimate title, has never hitherto authorized belligerent powers to attack those which are neuter, and who enjoy the advantages attending on peace.

That his most Faithful Majesty could wish, that the blame imputed to him, for not having complained, that the frontiers of his kingdom were blocked up and infested, were not so fully proved by the said memorials of the 16th of March, and the first instant, where it was declared in express words, which cannot be misunderstood, that the said blockade and infestation were ordered, from the time of the Family Compact, to invade and seize upon this kingdom: which are terms that plainly shew, that Portugal was neither to ask nor expect succours from the said courts, which had joined themselves in alliance to attack it; and that the latent fire has always been on the side of those, who had determined to act

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offensively,

A. D. 1762. offensively, and not on the side of him who has endeavoured, and does only endeavour to defend and preserve himself in peace, which, by all the laws of God, of nature, and nations, he has a right to do.

That, finally, his most Faithful Majesty understands that he has the same right to defend his kingdom from invasion, which is permitted to every private person, who is indispensably obliged to defend his own house against any body that should enter it without his consent.

And that his Majesty, confining himself to this sole point of the natural defence of the neutrality and peace of his kingdoms, ports, and subjects, will exert his utmost efforts, together with his allies, in case, notwithstanding all that has been related, he be attacked."

Spaniards
invade
Portugal.

The Spaniards, thinking to avail themselves of the defenceless state of Portugal, and that their force, if executed with expedition, before the arrival of foreign auxiliaries, might bring the Portuguese ministry to their terms, entered the kingdom of Portugal without farther ceremony, by the way of Braganza^p, on the 30th of April, over-ran that province, and took possession of the city of that

^p The magistrates of Braganza brought the keys of their city to the commander of the Spanish forces, which were marching to attack it: the garrison, consisting of five companies of foot, had precipitately retired before the arrival of his Majesty's troops. The Marquis de Sarria proposed to blow up the fortifications both of Braganza and Miranda. In this town were found 18 pieces of cannon of different bores, in bad condition, 2000 muskets, and some pistols, which were in no better order than the cannon.

name,

name, which was quite open and defenceless¹, A. D. 1762. proceeded to Chaves, Amerante and Miranda: all which places surrendered to the Spaniards.

Such acts of hostility roused the Portuguese government, and in some manner the ancient resentment of the people. The King immediately declared war^{King of Portugal declares war.} against the invaders: and though he had no regular troops in those parts, the militia of the country, without discipline, and almost without arms, suitable to the service of the field, obstructed their progress towards Oporto, which seemed

¹ The Marquis of Sarria, who commanded the main body of the Spanish forces destined against Portugal, passed the Douro and the Esta below Zamora, with 36 battalions and 35 squadrons: and there were eight battalions of regular troops, six of militia, and two squadrons of horse, ordered to penetrate into Portugal, by the way of Galicia: and four squadrons, four battalions, and four of militia were assembled in Andalusia.

² *Decree or declaration of war, issued by order of his Portuguese Majesty against France and Spain.*

Whereas the ambassador of Castile, Don Joseph Torrero, in conjunction with Don Jacques O'Dunne, minister plenipotentiary of France, by their representations, and the answers I have given thereto, it appears that one of the projects agreed on between the aforesaid powers in the Family compact was, to dispose of these kingdoms, as if they were their own, to invade them, to occupy them, under the incompatible pretext of assisting me against enemies, which they supposed for such, that never existed; and whereas different general officers of his Catholic Majesty have successively, since the 30th of April last, spread various papers through my dominions, prescribing laws and sanctions to my subjects, invading at the same time my provinces with an army divided into various bodies, attacking my

A. D. 1762. seemed to be the first object of their operations, till the national forces and auxiliaries could be collected and arrive to their assistance : it being resolved to form three camps, one between Villa Real, Braga and Oporto, another under the walls of Abrantes, and a third before the city of Elvas.

From fortified places, and perpetrating all the aforesaid hostilities, under the pretence of directing them to the advantage and glory of my crown, and of my subjects, and in such light even the Catholic King himself has represented the case to me ; and whereas, notwithstanding all these contradictory and unheard of motives, an offensive war has been made against me, contrary to truth and justice, by the aforesaid two monarchs, through mutual consent : I have ordered it to be made known to all my subjects, that they hold all disturbers or violators of the independent sovereignty of my crown, and all invaders of my kingdom, as public aggressors and declared enemies ; that from henceforward, in natural defence, and necessary retortion, they be treated as aggressors and declared enemies in all and every sense : and that to oppress them in their persons and effects, all military persons and others, authorised by me, make use of the most executive means which in these cases are supported by all laws ; and that in like manner, all said military, and every other person or persons, of whatever rank, quality or condition they be, quit all communication and correspondence with the said enemies, under the penalties decreed against rebels and traitors. I likewise order, that all the subjects of France and Spain, that reside in this city, or in the kingdoms of Portugal and Algarva, retire within the precise term of 15 days, to reckon from the day of the publication of this decree, otherwise they shall be treated as enemies, and their effects confiscated : and that in all the wet, as well as dry ports of this kingdom, all commerce and communication cease with the aforesaid monarchies of France and Spain, and all fruits, manufactures or goods of any kind, of the produce of the said monarchies, be deemed contraband, and the entry, sale and use of

From Braganza the invaders advanced to the town of Miranda, a place of some strength, and determined to stand a siege; but on the 9th of May it was obliged to surrender, by the explosion of a powder magazine, by which the walls were so damaged, and two such breaches made, besides the loss of above 500 men, buried in the ruins, that it was rendered untenable: hence the enemy traversed the province of Miranda and Moncorvo, and detached a party to reduce Chaves*, which had been an open town for many years; and whose great extent and

A. D.
1762.

Miranda
and Chaves
surrender.

of them be prohibited. Ordered, that this decree be affixed and transmitted to every county, that it may come to the knowledge of, all my subjects. I have given orders to the intendant general of the police to grant passports to all the aforesaid, who have entered these kingdoms, *bona fide*, on their business, that they be permitted to retire unmolested.

Palace of Nossa Senhora da Adjuda, 18th of May, 1762.

With the rubrick of his Majesty.

Published 23d May 1762.

ANTONIO LUIZ DE CORDES.

* "the Marquis de Sarria having detached Colonel Alexander O'Reiley, with the light-armed horse and foot under his command, to seize Chaves, that officer marched his men, by difficult roads scarce known, 14 leagues in two days, without leaving one straggler behind, and on his arriving before Chaves, found the gates open; the garrison, though they amounted to 2000 men, having abandoned the place, leaving in it 48 pieces of cannon, of which 21 were brass, and 27 of iron, all in good order; and of the former nine, and of the latter fourteen, were 24 pounders. They found also in the place a great number of muskets and other arms, much powder, ball, forage, &c. O'Reiley was promoted for this feat, to the rank of brigadier."

Spanish account.

X 3

decayed

A. D.
1762.Portu-
gueze de-
fence.

decayed fortifications, rendered it incapable of being suddenly put into a tenable condition: and therefore, not able to establish a post in any of those towns sufficient to secure a retreat, in case of an accident to their disadvantage, they endeavoured to pass over the mountains of Monte Allegre, towards the province of Minho. But finding the passes of those mountains defended by the Major-Generals Don John de Lancaster, and Francisco Joseph Sarmento, at the head of the militia of those two provinces, they turned off to the mountains of Maran and Amerante. Against whom, the General John de Almada, the governor of Oporto, dispatched a body of militia to defend those passes also, till the regulars could arrive to their assistance. Both these and the militia, supported by the inhabitants of Villa Nova de Foscoar performed wonders, who defended the pass of the river Doura, near that town, with such courage, that with guns, pikes, flails, and any weapon they could pick up, drove that party back to Torre de Moncorvo, which had advanced by that road from Miranda. While this was transacting on the north side of the Douro, another part of the Spanish army, to the amount of 8000 men, enter Portugal, by the territory of Pinhel, and encamped between Val de la Mulla, and Val de Colha, a league from Almeida. From whence the Spanish general detached several parties to pillage and destroy the villages and land of that open and defenceless frontier; which did not even spare the churches. But this so exasperated the Portuguese, that they mustered with such a countenance of resolution,

solution to oppose their march, and treated the A. D.
 stragglers with such marks of revenge, by cutting 1762.
 off their noses, &c. that, for the present, the Spa-Spaniards
 niards thought it most adviseable, (especially as the form three
 heats were coming on, when it would be impossible camps.
 to keep the field, and it would be more impossible
 for their armies to subsist, should they be obliged to
 encamp during those heats in the heart of Portugal,
 where there was no probability to find subsistence)
 to form three camps, one for their main army at
 Duas Igrejas, near Miranda : another of 5000 men
 at Torre de Moncorvo, and a third consisting of
 the same number near Chaves, to wait the further
 orders from their court : for hitherto these invaders
 pretended that they were come with weapons of
 defence, to protect Portugal from the oppression,
 of the English.

But on the 15th of June, the King of Spain King of
 thought proper to pull off the cloak of a defender, Spain de-
 friend and brother-in-law, in a formal declaration clares war
 of war¹. And this was followed, on the 20th of against
 the same month, by another declaration of war, by Portugal.
 the King of France's
 the declarati-
 on of war
 against
 Portugal.

¹ Neither my representations, founded in justice and utility,
 nor the fraternal persuasives with which I accompanied them,
 have been able to alter the King of Portugal's blind affection
 for the English. His ministers, engaged by long habit, con-
 tinue obstinate in their partiality, to the great prejudice of his
 subjects ; and I have met with nothing but refusals ; and been
 insulted by his injurious preference of the friendship of England
 to that of Spain and France. I have even received a personal
 affront by the arresting of my ambassador, Don Joseph Torre-
 ro, at Estremos, who was detained there in violation of his

A. D. 1762. the French King against his most Faithful Majesty, In both of which those two monarchs place the justice of their cause, and their right and necessity to invade and conquer Portugal, in the sole refusal of his most Faithful Majesty to join in their Family Compact against England, in defiance of the faith of ancient treaties, as well as without any other provocation and motive than to serve the purposes of the political system of the Bourbon Family; as will more clearly appear from the contents of those two

character, after he had been suffered to depart from Lisbon, and had arrived on the frontier, in virtue of passports from that court; but notwithstanding such insults were powerful motives for me to keep no longer any measures with the King of Portugal, nevertheless, adhering to my first resolution of not making an offensive war against the Portugueze, unless forced to it, I deferred giving orders to my general to treat them with the rigours of war; but having read the edict of the King of Portugal of the 18th of last month, in which, misrepresenting the upright intentions of the most Christian King and myself, he imputes to us a pre-concerted design of invading his kingdoms, and orders all his vassals to treat us as enemies, and to break off all correspondence with us, both by sea and land; and forbids the use of all protections coming from our territories, confiscating the goods of the French and Spaniards, and likewise ordering them to leave Portugal in a fortnight, which term, however strait, has been further abridged, and many of my subjects have been expelled, plundered, and ill-treated, before the expiration of it; and the Marquis de Sarria having found, that the Portugueze, ungrateful to his goodness and moderation, and the exactness with which they have been paid for every thing they have furnished for my troops, have proceeded so far as to excite the people and soldiery against my army; so that it would be dishonourable to carry my forbearance

two surprizing insults upon the laws of nations, and upon common sense " A. D. 1762.

In

ance any farther : for these causes I have resolved, that from this day my troops shall treat Portugal as an enemy's country, that the property of the Portuguese shall be confiscated throughout my dominions, that all the Portuguese shall leave Spain in a fortnight, and that all commerce with them shall be prohibited for the future.

" The King, and the Catholic King, being obliged to support a war against England, having entered into reciprocal engagements, to curb the excessive ambition of that crown, and the despotism which it pretends to usurp, in every sea, and particularly in the East and West Indies, over the trade and navigation of other powers ;

Their Majesties judged that one proper step for attaining this end would be, to invite the King of Portugal to enter into their alliance. It was natural to think that the proposals, which were made to that Prince on this subject, in the name of his Majesty, and of his Catholic Majesty, would be readily accepted. This opinion was founded on the consideration of what the most Faithful King owed to himself and to his people, who from the beginning of the present century groaned under the imperious yoke of the English. Besides, the event hath but too clearly shewn the necessity of the just measures taken by France and Spain, with regard to a suspicious and dangerous neutrality, that had all the inconveniencies of a concealed war.

The memorials presented to the court of Lisbon on this subject have been made public : all Europe hath seen the solid reasons of justice and conveniency, which were the foundation of their demand on the King of Portugal : to these were added, on the part of Spain, motives of the most tender friendship and assiduity, which ought to have made the strongest and most salutary impression on the mind of the most Faithful King.

But these powerful and just considerations were so far from determining that Prince to unite with his Majesty and his Catholic

A. D.
1762.
Measures
at home.

In the mean time, the British court, which was within this period greatly agitated at home by the intrigues

atholic Majesty, that he absolutely rejected their offers, and chose to sacrifice their alliance, his own glory, and the good of his people, to his unlimited and blind devotion to the will of England.

Such conduct leaving no doubt concerning the King of Portugal's true intentions, the King and the Catholic King could consider him, from that time, only as a direct and personal enemy, who under the artful pretext of a neutrality, which would not be observed, would deliver up his ports to the disposal of the English, to serve for sheltering-places for their ships, and to enable them to hurt France and Spain with more security, and with more effect.

Nevertheless, his Majesty and his Catholic Majesty thought it their duty to keep measures with the most Faithful King, and if the Spanish troops have entered Portugal, this invasion, which was become indispensably necessary, was not accompanied with any declaration of war; and the troops have behaved with all the circumspection that could be required, even in a friendly and neutral state.

All this moderation hath been thrown away: the King of Portugal hath just now declared war in form against France and Spain. This unexpected step forced the Catholic King to make the like declaration against Portugal; and the King [of France] can no longer defer taking the same resolution.

Independent of the motives, which are common to the two monarchs, each hath separate grievances to alledge against Portugal, which of themselves would be sufficient to justify the extremity, to which their Majesties see themselves, with regret, obliged to proceed.

Every one knows the unjust and violent attack made by the English in 1759, on some of the French King's ships under the cannon of the Portuguese forts at Lagos. His Majesty demanded of the most Faithful King, to procure him restitution of those ships: but that Prince's ministers, in contempt of what was due to the rules of justice, the laws of the sea, the sovereignty

intrigues of those, who were secretly contriving to form a new bottom in the administration, and who were

A. D.
1762.

ty and territory of their master (all which were indecently violated by the most scandalous infraction of the rights of sovereigns and of nations) in answer to the repeated requisitions of the King's ambassador, on this head, made only vague speeches, with an air of indifference that bordered on derision.

At the same time, the court of Lisbon, pretending to be ignorant that sovereigns who hold the rank of their birth only, and the dignity of their crown, can never permit, under any pretext, any Potentate to attempt to infringe prerogatives and rights belonging to the antiquity and Majesty of their throne, hath pretended to establish, without distinction, an alternative of precedence between all the ambassadors and foreign ministers about the King of Portugal. The King being informed by his ambassador, of the notification that had been made to him of this extraordinary and unexampled regulation, signified in writing to the most Faithful King, his just dissatisfaction; and his Majesty declared that he would never suffer any attempt to be made to diminish the right essentially inherent in the representative character with which he is pleased to honour his ambassadors and ministers.

However justly the King was authorised to express, at that time, his displeasure on account of these grievances, and several other subjects of complaint which he had received from the court of Portugal, his Majesty contented himself with recalling his ambassador, and continued to keep up a correspondence with the most Faithful King, which he very sincerely desired to render more intimate and more lasting.

That Prince, therefore, can only blame himself for the calamities of a war, which he ought, on every account, to have avoided, and which he hath been the first to declare.

His offers to observe a strict neutrality might have been listened to by the King and the Catholic King, if past experience had not taught them to guard against the illusion and danger of such proposals.

A. D. 1762. were most anxious for renewing the negotiations for a peace, either did not properly attend unto, or procrastinated

In the beginning of the present century, the court of Lisbon was very forward to acknowledge King Philip V. of glorious memory, and contracted formal engagements with France and Spain. Peter III. who at that time filled the throne of Portugal, seemed to enter cordially into the alliance of the two crowns: but after dissembling his secret intentions, for three years, he broke all his promises, and the neutrality which he had afterwards solicited, and which in a letter to the republic of the United Provinces, he had even advised her to embrace, and joined the enemies of France and Spain. The same confidence, and the same security, on the part of the two crowns, in the present state of things, would undoubtedly have been followed by the like defection in the court of Lisbon.

United to the Catholic King by indissoluble sentiments of tender friendship and common interests, the King hopes that our united efforts will be favoured by the God of Hosts, and will in the end compel the King of Portugal to conduct himself on principles more conformable to sound policy, the good of his people, and the ties of blood which unite him to his Majesty and his Catholic Majesty.

The King commands and enjoins all his subjects, vassals, and servants, to fall upon the subjects of the King of Portugal; and expressly prohibits them from having any communication, commerce, and intelligence with them, on pain of death; and accordingly his Majesty hath from this date revoked, and hereby revokes, all licences, passports, safeguards, and safe-conducts, contrary to these presents, that may have been granted by him or his lieutenant-generals, and other officers; declaring them null and void, and to no effect; and forbidding all persons to pay any regard thereto. And whereas, in contempt of the 15th article of the treaty of peace between France and Portugal, signed at Utrecht, April 11, 1713, (and by which it is expressly stipulated, "That in case of a rupture between the two crowns, "the space of six months shall be granted their subjects respectively,

crassinated the measures, necessary to continue the war, and to support our allies. The King of Prussia was totally abandoned to his own abilities and good fortunes, neither treaty nor subsidy was agreeable to the new Ministry; nor were the advocates, for a faithful performance of our engagements with that Prince, any longer able to maintain their influence in our councils. The allied army, it is true, did exist; the parliament, agreeable to the estimates laid before them by the ministry, had provided for its effectual support; but so little was the encouragement it received from the ministry, that had it not been for the wisdom and military genius of its commander, joined to the humane and ever reasonable assistance of the Marquis of Granby, there might have been some doubt, how it could have preserved its existence. In regard to Portugal, every thing was driven off to the last, even after the worst measure was adopted to assist that ally. When the troops ought to have been in the field, a commander in chief was to be hunted for. Lord Tyrawley was an able general; and was previously employed to enquire into the state of Portugal. But his lordship had the misfortune to be disagreeable to the Portu-

guese, to sell or remove their effects, and withdraw their persons (if they think fit): the King of Portugal hath just now ordered, that all the French who are in his kingdom shall leave it in the space of 15 days, and that their effects shall be confiscated and sequestered: his Majesty, by way of just reprisals, commands, that all the Portugeze in his dominions, shall, in like manner, leave them within the space of fifteen days from the date hereof, and that all their effects shall be confiscated.

gueze

A. D. 1762. gueze court. They trifled with him, and treated him with disrespect. These were circumstances, that obliged our court to look out for a general officer to command in Portugal. The Prince of Bevern was applied to, and declined the offer. The

Count de Buckeburg appointed general in Portugal.

Count La Lippe Buckeburg accepted of the invitation. The appointment of so young a general to the chief command, determined Lord Tyrawley to resign; it being inconsistent for his lordship to serve under one, who was in his cradle, when his lordship was a staff-officer. His lordship's place was filled by the Earl of Loudon. Thus the new ministry, who expressed so great a dislike to the war, which their predecessors in office maintained, in defence of our allies, attacked solely on our account by the French in Germany, confirmed the propriety of that measure by engaging singly in another continental war, solely for the defence of our ally the King of Portugal, because his most Faithful Majesty was attacked by the French and Spaniards on the same account. And what is most remarkable, the very men who had so often inveighed against the former administration, for giving the command of the allied army in Germany, to a German general, as a disgrace to all the English officers under him, thought it no disgrace nor impropriety to appoint a German count to the command in chief of the British troops and the allied army in Portugal.

Forces sent to Portugal.

In the mean time the British forces arrived in the Tagus : part * of them from Ireland, on the 6th of May : but it was not possible for them to act till

* Two regiments of 1100 men each.

they

they had a commander: and it was the 25th of June before the fleet sailed * with the Count de Buckeburg, which rendered it impracticable to proceed effectually to action, till the summer heats should permit the troops to take the field.

These dilatory proceedings may be easily accounted for, if we attend to the measures of the British court; where peace was become the favourite topic, and party became daily strengthened by various means, even to the detriment of the national interest and credit. The old and faithful servants of the crown saw their interests and power, by which they had distinguished themselves in the support of the protestant succession in the House of Hanover, for almost half a century, weakened by new invasions: they felt themselves sapped, as it were, by subterraneous works, to drive

A. D.
1762.

Their delay accounted for.

* *List of Sir Edward Hawke's fleet, which sailed from St. Helen's, for Lisbon, &c. June 25.*

Gens.

Commanders.

100 Royal George,

Sir Edward Hawke, Admiral.

Capt. Bennet.

80 Princess Amelia,

Duke of York, Rear Admiral.

L. V. Howe, Capt.

90 Prince,

Capt. Peyton.

90 Ocean,

Capt. Langdon.

74 Magnanime,

Capt. Saxton.

70 Prince of Orange

Capt. Ferguson.

66 Lancaster,

64 Nassau,

Capt. Sayer.

64 Essex,

Capt. Schomberg.

60 Achilles,

Hon. Capt. Barrington,

40 Launceston.

32 Æolus.

28 Tartar.

them

A. D. 1762. Duke of Newcastle resigns. Ld. Bute succeeds him in the treasury.

them out of the ministry. Honour therefore dictated *resignation*: and on the 26th of May the Duke of Newcastle resigned his office of first Lord Commissioner of the treasury, because he found his influence was gone before him. The office he resigned was the highest under the crown, and was, three days after, filled by John Earl of Bute, who, on that occasion, was promoted from the office of secretary of state, to be first lord of the treasury. From which moment the English conceived apprehensions that the worst evils, which can befall a nation, were ready to present themselves: and such a warm contest succeeded between the English and their northern brethren, that in some measure has disgraced the pens of both, and, it is to be feared, has laid the foundation of a long and invidious disgust between the two kingdoms; which is foreign from the subject of this history; except where these alterations in the ministry shall appear to explain the facts to be produced.

There were principally two reasons, which occasioned this remarkable resignation; the one public, the other private. The public one was, the refusal, which had been given to the demand of the King of Prussia's subsidy, notwithstanding it had been promised from time to time: therefore his Grace could not concur in measures, which violated the faith of Great Britain, hitherto held sacred, and which exposed us to the resentment of our allies, and to the contempt and ridicule of all the courts in Europe. The private one was, certain intrusions and interpositions into and with his department, made in a sly and officious manner, in order to worm him out, which at length had the desired effect.

This

This was just the thing France wanted to bring about. To remove the active firm ministry : to divide the people ; to revive parties ; and to see the Earl of Bute in possession of the King's favour, and of the treasury, which might make him the only acting power in England. A power, our enemies were convinced, his lordship could not hold long without a peace. Thus, soon after Lord Bute's elevation, the French lost not a moment in their advances towards a pacification. They considered this to be the lucky minute, and that if the opportunity should be suffered to elapse, the old ministers might, nay must soon be in power, if the war continued, and then they should not be able to get such a peace, as they might expect from a minister of so little experience, and so greatly embarrassed, as Lord Bute ; to whom peace was so desirable, that we find the Count de Viri, the Sardinian ambassador at London, who was the agent for this affair, under the mediation of his Sardinian Majesty, ranked amongst the pensioners on the Irish establishment with a very handsome annuity. But the French at the same juncture, dispatched 1500 men, on board two ships of the line and two frigates, to seize upon Newfoundland, left by us in a defenceless state ; that they might obtain a part of that fishery at a more easy price, than by a purchase of it in a negotiation, by which they must sacrifice some equivalent.

This propensity towards peace at this time, appears more amazing, when advices from every quarter concurred to strengthen our interest and to extend our power.

A. D. 1762.
Agreeable to the French.

Overtures for peace.

King of Prussia's affairs mended.

A. D.
1762.

Death of
the Czari-
na.

Accession
of Peter
III.

His dis-
position
for peace.

In Germany, where the weight had all along been the heaviest in the balance against us, the war appeared with a more promising event. The perplexed state of the King of Prussia, was solely to be ascribed to the vigorous inflexibility of the Czarina in her pursuit of the war against his Prussian Majesty. Her numerous armies and their employment against Pomerania, Brandenburg and Silesia, prevented his armies taking their proper effect in the operations he had formed, for carrying the war into the heart of the Austrian hereditary dominions. But this new year gave the Russians a new Sovereign. Prussia's irreconcilable enemy, from that quarter, was removed by the death of the Empress of Russia*. Which event made way for the accession of Peter III. a fast friend^a of his Prussian Majesty to the throne of that Empire.

Czar Peter's inclination to peace, as well as his aversion to the war his predecessor had so zealously

* She died of a violent effusion of blood, about two o'clock on the 5th of January, in the afternoon. Immediately the senate, and other supreme colleges of the Empire, assembled for that purpose in the palace, took the oaths to Peter III.

^a The new Czar was a knight of the black eagle, of which order the King of Prussia is sovereign, or grand master. Soon after the death of the late Empress, his Prussian Majesty, having occasion to write to Mr. Mitchel, the British minister, added the following postscript.

"Is not this a very extraordinary knight, to feed 80,000 men at my expence? He is the only one of my knights that takes that liberty. If every knight of the garter did the same, your England (England though it is) would be devoured by them. I beg you would endeavour to make my knight more tractable, and tell him it is against the institutes of the order, for a knight to eat up his grand master."

entered

entered into and carried on, to favour the interest of her Austrian ally, appeared immediately upon his accession to the throne of all the Russias; and about a month after his Czarish Majesty ordered it to be declared to the Imperial, French and Swedish ministers residing at St. Petersburg, that he could not look, without extreme regret, upon a war that had continued already six years, and instead of tending towards a conclusion, was still gathering strength with the effusion of much innocent blood: that he was desirous to put a stop to so great an evil, and, in order to procure peace to his empire, which he thought was the *first law* prescribed by God to Sovereigns, that he was ready, on his part, to make a sacrifice of the conquests made by the arms of Russia in this war, in hopes that the respective powers, his allies, would concur with him in so salutary and necessary a measure.

This declaration was very badly relished by the allies. The French court, on the 23d of the same month replied^c, That his most Christian Majesty was as truly sensible of the miseries of war, and constantly desired to put an end to so cruel a scourge: but that no tenderness, or thought for the happiness and preservation of his own subjects, should make him forget his fidelity in executing treaties, and punctuality in performing engagements to their full extent: which his Majesty did look upon to be the *first law*, that God prescribes to Sovereigns, because this constitutes the public safety, which ought to be

^b February 14. 1762.

^c Delivered to the ministers of France, Austria, Sweden, and Saxony, at Petersburg.

A. D. 1762. preferable to every other consideration. Hence his most Christian Majesty declared, That he was ready to listen favourably to propositions for a solid and honourable peace, but would always act in the most perfect concert with his allies : that he would receive no counsels, but such as should be dictated to him by honour and probity ; that he should think himself guilty of a defection, in lending a hand to secret negotiations ; that he would not tarnish his glory, and that of his kingdom, by abandoning his allies ; and that he was well assured each of them would, on their part, faithfully adhere to the same principle. This French declaration was accompanied with an answer to the Czar's by the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony ; by way of memorial of his own sufferings in the miseries of his Electoral dominions, and beseeching his Czarish Majesty's protection and assistance to procure an indemnification^d. These

^d *Translation of the answer given by the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, to the declaration of the Emperor of all the Russias, of the 23^d of February, 1762.*

All my allies wish as much as myself, that the public tranquillity may be restored upon solid foundations. It is well known to all Europe, that I did not seek the war ; but, on the contrary, employed every means to keep the calamities of it at a distance from my dominions. My love to mankind in general, and to my own subjects in particular, ought to engage me to facilitate, as much as in me lies, the restoration of peace, and to exercise all moderation as to my equitable pretensions. I am of opinion, that a just and solid peace cannot be agreed on, but by the congress proposed and accepted by all the powers at war.

I place a full confidence in the friendship of your Imperial Majesty, to whom the house of Saxony is bound by sacred ties.

It

These answers, being no-wise suitable to his Czarish Majesty's pacific sentiments and resolutions, and confirming him in the opinion that the Russian allies were not really disposed to sheath the sword till they had ruined the King of Prussia; which he knew could not be done without his concurrence in future operations against that heroic monarch; he determined, with the advice of his council, to make very short work with the affair in hand; and, instead of entering into altercations and problematical arguments about his own conduct, in regard to the treaties and engagements, which his predecessor had rashly signed and executed, to the great detriment of her subjects, he agreed to a suspension of arms

A. D.

1762.

It is not unknown to your Majesty, that Saxony hath been attacked merely on account of its connections with the Russian Empire; and that the King of Prussia has taken occasion to charge us with entering into defensive treaties with that Empire against him. We therefore flatter ourselves with the hope, that so ancient and so equitable an ally of Saxony will not suffer our dominions, which are already reduced to the utmost distress, as well by exorbitant contributions, as by the alienation of our revenues, and of the funds which were allotted for the payment of debts, to be completely ruined.

The whole world agrees, that we are intitled to an equitable restitution and reparation of the damage sustained. But notwithstanding all these considerations, and though all the powers at war shew themselves inclined to contribute to the general pacification, yet Saxony remains threatened with irretrievable ruin.

We therefore hope, that your Majesty's philanthropy and magnanimity will prevail with your Majesty to take care that, before all things, the Electorate of Saxony be speedily evacuated, in order thereby to put an end to the calamities which overwhelm it; this being the means of facilitating and accelerating the conclusion of a general peace.

Y 3

between

A. D. 1762. between himself and the King of Prussia, which was signed on the 16th of March, and was to continue till the two courts of Petersburg and Berlin should make a further determination. And this had its further effect. For the Swedes followed his example, and concluded a peace with his Prussian Majesty on the 7th of April.

Peter concludes a convention of peace with the King of Prussia.

Every thing promised his Prussian Majesty a happy deliverance from the Russians. But when the act of restitution, by which the Czar was to give up to Prussia the conquests made by the arms of Russia, was carrying into execution, the Emperor was hurried out of this world, by a conspiracy of his subjects*, who, pretending that their antient religion, rights and privileges, were in danger, and that they were

Peter III. deposed.

* The senate, on the 8th of July, deposed him. On the 9th of July, at six in the morning, the Empress arrived in Petersburg from her country-seat at Petershoff, and immediately repaired to the palace; where, after assembling the guards, she desired them to support her; and they accordingly proclaimed her Empress of all the Russias, at the same time declaring the Emperor, Peter the Third, to be deposed.

After this proclamation was made, during which time the gates of the city were kept shut, the new Sovereign went to the church of Kafansky, where, after divine service, all the grantees of the Empire took the oath of fidelity to her, to whom she declared that she had taken the reins of government purely for the good of the country. At the beginning of these ceremonies, in order to prevent disturbances, her Imperial Majesty thought proper to secure the person of Prince George of Holstein.

Other necessary precautions being taken, the Empress, dressed in the uniform of the guards, and wearing a blue ribbon, mounted her horse, and put herself at the head of 9 or 10,000 men, and marched to Oranjebaum, but the Emperor was not there.

That

were disgusted at the peace with the King of Prussia, A. D. 1762.
by which Peter had trampled under foot the glory of

That Prince got together as many peasants as he could, and would have entrenched himself, but the Empress approaching at the head of 10,000 men, followed by a train of artillery, she sent the Emperor word that all resistance would be useless; and that he had much better submit, to avoid greater misfortunes. The subject of this message being known, the troops of Holstein were dismayed, and threw down their arms. The Emperor perceiving this, rightly judged that all was lost, and the unfortunate Prince, after yielding his sword, was put into a coach, and conducted to Peterhoff, where he was immediately shut up, and his guard severely ordered not to give him the least answer to any question that he might put to them.

Peter III. died eight days after he had been deprived of his throne; on which occasion the reigning Empress published the following manifesto:

"We Catherine II. by the grace of God, Empress, Autocratix of all the Russias, &c.

THE seventh day after our advancement to the throne of all the Russias, we received the news that the late Emperor Peter III. by an hemorrhoidal accident, to which he had been some time subject, was fallen into a most violent cholic.

Not to be wanting in our Christian duty, and to the holy commandment, by which we are obliged to use our endeavours to preterve the life of our neighbour, We immediately ordered all the necessary assistance to be sent to him, to prevent the dangerous consequence of this accident, and to restore his health by the aid of medicine. But, to our great regret and affliction, we received yesterday, in the evening, fresh advice, that, by the permission of the Almighty, he was deceased.

Wherefore we have ordered his corps to be transported to the monastery of Newsky, to be there interred; and, at the same time, we excite and exhort all our faithful subjects, on our imperial and maternal word, to forget all the evil past, to render his corps the last honours, and to pray to God for the repose of his soul, looking at the same time on this sudden and unexpected

A. D. 1762. of Russia, deposed Peter III. and placed his consort upon the imperial throne, by the name of Catharine II. ¹ How far this revolution was justifiable, does not

Accession
of Catha-
rine II.

unexpected end, as a particular effect of divine providence, who, from impenetrable views, prepares for us, for our throne, and for all the country, peace, by means only known to his holy will.

Done at Petersburg, July 7, 1762, O. S."

¹ *Manifesto of the Empress Catherine II. on her advancement to the throne of Russia.*

"By the grace of God, we Catherine II. Empress and Autocratix of all the Russia's, &c

ALL the true sons of Russia, have clearly seen the great danger to which all the Russian Empire has been in effect exposed.

I. The foundations of our orthodox Greek religion have been shaken, and its traditions exposed to a total ruin; inso-much that it was absolutely feared that the faith, at all times established in Russia, would be entirely changed, and a foreign religion introduced.

In the second place, the glory of Russia, acquired with so much effusion of blood, and risen to the highest pitch by its victorious arms, has already been trampled under foot, by the peace lately concluded with its greatest enemy.

And at length the interior arrangements, which serve as a basis to the welfare of the country, have been totally overthrown.

Wherefore being sensibly affected and overcome with the imminent dangers wherewith our faithful subjects were threatened, and knowing their manifest and sincere desires in this respect: We, reposing on the Almighty and the Divine Justice, have mounted the Sovereign Imperial throne of all the Russias, and have received the solemn oath from all our faithful subjects.

Done at Petersburg, the 28th of June, O. S. 1762."

This publication made, the Empress remitted to the foreign ministers the following note for their information; but we know not, whether the Prussian minister was of the number.

NOTE

not come within the compass of the subject of this history, which has no other connection with such events, than to notice their influence upon the facts before us. A. D. 1762.

Thus Russia once more seemed to be revolting into the measures for prosecuting the war against Prussia, and for maintaining their conquests. As one of the principal articles on which the senate had founded the necessity for deposing Peter III. was the peace he had lately made with his Prussian Majesty, it could not be supposed, but that one of the first steps of the new reign would be to revive the old system, and to renew the war with vigour against that monarch. So that, as soon as the Emperor was dead, orders were given peremptorily, to re-commence that war, and a manifesto was issued, on the 16th of July, to oblige the inhabitants of the conquered part of the Prussian dominions, to swear allegiance to the new Empress. Revives the war with Prussia.

But how unstable the mind and counsel of man! the very next day, upon a favourable report ^z made by a select committee of senators, appointed to examine

NOTE for the foreign Ministers.

“HER Majesty the Empress, having this day mounted the Imperial throne of all the Russias, to answer the unanimous desires and pressing prayers of all her faithful subjects, and true patriots of this empire, has ordered notice to be given thereof to all the foreign ministers residing at her court, and to assure them, that her Imperial Majesty’s invariable intention is to maintain a good friendship with the Sovereigns their masters.

Done at Petersburg, the 28th of June, 1762.”

^z The next day some of the senators examined, in the presence of the Empress, the literary correspondence of the Emperor

A. D. amine the correspondence between Czar Peter III:
1762. and the King of Prussia, the new Empress revoked
Recals those furious orders, declared her sincere friendship
her hostile for his Prussian Majesty, and confirmed all that had
com- been done in his favour by her unfortunate husband
mands, & deceased. This finally delivered the King of Prus-
confirms sia from the diversion made by the Russians, and
the peace. left him at liberty to pursue his measures to bring
 the other confederates to terms of pacification.

The cam- The allies opened the campaign with a very in-
paigh be- different prospect. They met with small encou-
tween the
allies and
the
French. peror with the King of Prussia, when they made no doubt but
 they should find there wherewithal to justify the hatred they
 bore to Frederic; but, to their great surprize, they found just
 the contrary of what they expected. The Emperor had dis-
 covered to his Majesty all his projects, and consulted him about
 the greatest part of them, especially about one that concerned
 the Empress herself, and tended to have made her unhappy, if
 it had been put in execution.

The King's letter contained the most wholesome counsel, viz.
 he advised the Emperor,

First, To stay in his dominions, and not to come into Ger-
 many.

2dly, To look upon his subjects as his children, and to give
 them no just cause of complaints.

3dly, To make no alterations in the fundamental laws of
 the country.

4thly, To maintain the clergy, church and religion in the
 same state he had found them in.

5thly, To desist from a war with Denmark. And,

6thly, Not to undertake any thing against the Empress, who,
 they say, was in danger of being put into a monastery. At this
 she burst out into tears of gratitude, and declared she must either
 be a monster, or bear to the King of Prussia as much affection
 as she had hatred to him before. Hereupon all the furious or-
 ders were commanded.

ragement

agement from the new ministry at home : and were A. D. 1762.
defeated in their first skirmish with the French.

The commandant in Gottingen detached 4000 men Allies re-
on the 9th of March, who attacked the east chain tire with
of the allied army, and obliged them to retire with los.
the loss of a few men in the rear. This made it ne-
cessary to strengthen that part ; and 3000 men were
ordered to take post at Eimbeck, for that purpose,
on the 20th, which reinforcement put the allies into
a condition to revenge the last action. For the Revenge
commandant in Gottingen having detached 1800 the affront
horse and 2000 foot to intercept 500 hussars order-
ed to Helingenstadt, General Luckner being inform-
ed of the design, marched immediately with 1600
horse, and coming up with the French on the 6th
of April, fell upon their rear, as they retreated in
great haste towards Gottingen, killed 30 men,
took 80 prisoners, and carried off 100 horses.

The brave and active hereditary Prince of Brunf. Heredita-
wick took the field, with a strong detachment of the ry Prince
allied army, about the middle of the same month, takes A-
in order to attack the important castle of Arensburg, rensburg
which had been of considerable service to the French,
by preserving the communication between Cassel
and Gottingen. The batteries were ready to play
on the 18th at noon : this brought on a parley ; and
M. Muret, the French commandant, offered to sur-
render on the 21st, on condition he might be allow-
ed then to march out with all the military honours,
in case he should not be relieved during the interval
of time. But his Serene Highness, knowing that
the French troops were in motion, rejected the pro-
posal, and began the fire at six in the morning of
the

A. D. the 19th, so furiously, that at noon the castle and town were all in flames; and they increased to such a degree, that, in a short time, M. Muret cried out for mercy over the walls, and surrendered at discretion, without one man on either side killed or wounded, except one captain of the British Legion, who had the misfortune to lose a leg. The garrison consisted of 231 private men and nine officers, who became prisoners of war, with 26 pieces of cannon.

French
retreat.

The corps, which had been detached from Cologne, &c. to raise this siege, retreated to their respective quarters, upon advice of the surrender of Arensburg, and left the Prince to raise contributions and recruits. In which design his Serene Highness so far succeeded, that he advanced without impediment, as far as Elvervelt and Solengar, near Duffeldorp, and carried off a number of hostages, and 150 young recruits from the town of Sunderen alone. But the French Marshals, convinced that it was high time to take the field, to prevent the progress of the allies, put themselves at the head of their respective armies. The Prince de Soubise and M. d'Estrees took the command upon the Upper Rhine: and the Prince of Conde on the Lower Rhine.

French
grand army
en-
camped
near Wil-
hemstahl.

The grand army was that under Soubise and D'Estrees; who practised every art in military knowledge to ensnare Prince Ferdinand, who had put his whole army in motion. Those Marshals encamped their army between Graebenstein and Meimbren. The center of their army was posted on a very advantageous eminence, their left wing inaccessible by several deep ravines, and their right covered by Graebenstein, several little rivulets, and by a body

a body of troops under the command of M. de Castries, posted at Carlsdorff. Prince Ferdinand made the following dispositions for attacking the enemy. 1762.

General Luckner, who was situated on the Leine, having Eimbeck in his front, with six battalions of grenadiers, four squadron of dragoons, and eight squadrons of hussars, to observe Prince Xavier's motions, who lay incamped with his corps de reserve between the Werra and Gottingen, received orders in the night, between the 22d and 23d, to march to Gotsbuhern, in the Rainhartswald, with the grenadiers, four squadrons of horse, and his own regiment of hussars. The Hessian hussars were ordered to remain near Mohringen, in order to conceal his march, and to observe Prince Xavier. M. Luckner began his march from Hollenstadt on the 23d at six in the morning, got to Uslar at noon, passed the Weser at Bodensfeldt at six in the evening, and towards night reached Gotsbuhern. He had orders to proceed on the 24th, at three in the morning, to Mariendorff, and to form between that place and Udenhausen.

Monf. de Sporcken passed the Dymel at Sielem, at four in the morning, with twelve battalions of Hanoverians, and part of the cavalry of the left wing, in order to march by Rainhartswald, between Hornbrexen and Udenhausen. As soon as he had formed, he was to attack the enemy's corps, which was posted at Carlsdorff, in flank, while Luckner charged their rear; and if he succeeded, was to continue marching in such manner, as to take the enemy's camp at Graebenstein, both in flank and rear.

Prince Ferdinand passed the Dymel at four in the morning,

A. D. 1762. morning, with twelve battalions of English, eleven battalions of Brunswickers, and eight Hessian regiments, together with the English cavalry, and part of the German cavalry of the left wing, with an intent to draw up behind the ponds of Kasse.

The picquets of the army formed the vanguard on the left, and the chasseurs of the English and German infantry, commanded by Lord Frederick Cavendish, with Freytagh's Hanoverian chasseurs, that of the right, in order to seize upon the Langenberg.

The Marquis of Granby was to pass the Dymel at Warbourg, between two and three o'clock in the morning, with the reserve under his command, to march by Zieremberg, and Ziebershausen, upon the eminence, which is opposite to Furstenwald, in order to fall upon the left wing of the enemy. This whole plan was put in execution. They were in presence of the enemy, before they had the least apprehension of being attacked. However, M. de Castries had time to retreat, and did it with a very small loss.

The attack.

The French fly.

Prince Ferdinand came on, in the center, and gained ground. The enemy, seeing themselves attacked in front, in flank, and in rear, were not long in taking their part: they struck their tents and retreated. Prince Ferdinand pursued and pressed upon them as close as possible, and they would, without doubt, have been entirely routed, if M. de Stainville had not thrown himself, with the grenadiers of France, the royal grenadiers, the regiment of Aquitaine, and other corps, being the flower of the French infantry, into the woods of Wilhemstahl, to cover

cover their retreat. That resolution cost him dear; A. D. 1762.
 his whole infantry having been taken, killed, or ^{Their} dispersed, after a very gallant defence, excepting ^{loss.}
 two battalions, which found means to get off.
 Some of those troops had before surrendered to Lord Granby's corps; and upon the coming up of the army, the remainder, after one fire, surrendered to the fifth regiment of foot.

Lord Granby acquitted himself, upon this occasion, with remarkable valour, and had a great ^{Behavi-} share in the victory. ^{our of the} allies.

All the troops behaved extremely well, and shewed great zeal and willingness; but particularly the first battalion of grenadiers, belonging to Colonel Beckwith's brigade, which distinguished itself extremely.

The enemy's army retreated under the cannon of Cassel, and a great part of it passed very hastily over the Fulda.

The French infantry consisted of 100 battalions: ^{Strength} but the allies had no more than 60. The French ^{of both} lost upwards of 4000 killed and prisoners ^{armies.}, and several colours and standards. M. Reidesel attacked ^{Loss of} and totally overthrew the regiment of Fitz-James; ^{both ar-} mies. took 300 of their horses, and their two standards. The loss of the allies did not exceed 300: and they lost no officer of distinction, except Colonel Townsend.

The French army under Soubise and d'Estrees ^{French} having, after the battle of Wilhelmstahl, been obli- ^{pursued.} ged to retreat into their strong camp, under the cannon of Cassel, Prince Ferdinand thought that it would

^a Amongst the prisoners were upwards of 200 officers.

A. D. 1762. be dangerous, or at least, that it would cost the lives of too many brave men, to attack them in that situation ; the only measure therefore he had to pursue,

Prince Ferdinand cuts off their communication with the Rhine.

His dispositions.

was to distress them by cutting off their communication with the Rhine, and with Frankfort : and having received advice, that M. de Rochambeau had assembled some brigades of infantry and cavalry near Hombourgh, with a view to cover the communications of the enemy's army with Frankfort took the resolution of dislodging him from the post, which he had taken possession of ; for which purpose his Serene Highness ordered Lord Frederick Cavendish to advance with the chasseurs of the infantry of the army; Freytag's chasseurs, and Bauer's and Riedesel's hussars from Lohn to Felzberg ; and the Marquis of Granby, with the brigade of the British grenadiers, Elliot's, the Blues, and the four Hanoverian squadrons, from Hoff to Fritzlar. The former were to march towards Hombourg, in such a direction, as to cut off the enemy's corps from Melsungen and Fulda. The other to cut off their retreat to Ziegenhayn. Which orders were executed in the following manner : the hour of rendezvous on both sides of Hombourg, for the attack of M. de Rochambeau's corps was agreed on : the discharge of three pieces of cannon, from Lord Frederick Cavendish's troops, was to be the signal of his arrival. Elliot's being arrived at a quarter of a league distance from Hombourg, attacked the advanced posts, drove them from the heights, and took post there : the rest of Lord Granby's corps were in the rear of Elliot's, behind the declivity of the height ; and the enemy's tents continued standing.

At



J. Walker sculp.

GEORGE KEPPEL,
EARL of ALBEMARLE.

At the same time Lord Frederick Cavendish's A. D. 1762.
 Hussars began to exchange some shot with the enemy; when their tents were immediately struck, and they got under arms at the foot of the mountain, and in the hedges near the town; their cavalry formed on the plain: the three discharges of cannon were made; whereupon the enemy's infantry defiled upon their left; their cavalry covering their march. Lord Granby, perceiving they intended to retreat, marched all his corps, as fast as possible, to the right, when the enemy's cavalry, who put on a good countenance, began to move on, at a good rate. Upon this, his lordship ordered the cavalry to advance, following close with the infantry, which began an attack on the enemy's rear, with the greatest ardour and success, making two onsets in an instant, but the enemy's cavalry facing about immediately, and falling sword in hand upon Elliot's dragoons, that regiment would have suffered greatly, had not Colonel Harvey, at the head of the Blues, seeing the danger, passed the village on full gallop, and notwithstanding he could oppose only eight or ten men in front to formed squadrons, he overthrew all that came in his way, and saved Elliot's regiment.

The situation of the two regiments was at this time very critical; but the mutual support which they gave each other, Elliot's dragoons, by continual skirmishing with the enemy, and the Blues by their manœuvres in squadrons, and their steady countenance, kept the enemy at bay till the infantry could come up. They then began their retreat in the utmost hurry, the grenadiers and Highlanders follow-

Lord Granby attacks the enemy.
 French retreat.

A. D.
1762.

ing them with their usual ardour. If their infantry had not posted themselves in a hollow way, to sustain their squadrons, which the Blues and Elliot's were charging, the whole would have been routed. During this retreat, Lord Cavendish's corps, which could not advance sooner, followed them close, and pushed them vigorously.

Colonels Harvey and Erskine, Majors Forbes and Ainsley, distinguished themselves greatly.

The loss of the allies in killed, wounded, and taken, were about 80 men; that of the enemy was very considerable, the number of prisoners only amounting to upwards of 250.

Though the troops were fatigued, they did not fail, however, to push the two regiments of hussars of Bauer and Reidesel to Rothenbourg, in order to destroy the enemy's magazines there, which were considerable; wherein Lieutenant-Colonel de Reidesel succeeded perfectly well.

Prince of
Conde
marches
to rein-
force the
army in
Hesse.
Battle at
Freidberg

These gallant exploits so greatly distressed and weakened the French, that the Prince of Conde was ordered to march and assist the grand army in Hesse. The hereditary Prince opposed this army, and attacked it near Friedberg, on the 30th of July. This action was maintained for some time with great spirit. At first the allies were successful, but the French, by their vast superiority, and advantage of situation, at length repulsed the allies; and the he-

Heredita-
ry Prince
wounded,
and obli-
ged to re-
treat.

reditary Prince, in attempting to rally the troops, received a dangerous wound in the hip¹; but Prince Ferdinand,

¹ The ball entered on the right side, a little above the hip-bone, which it grazed; and came out of the back part of his body,

A. D.
1762.

Ferdinand, being informed of the battle, came up with some assistance, time enough to prevent the defeat becoming total: however, the allies lost near 2500 men. The Prince of Conde then effected his junction, without any further difficulty; and the French army, now considerably reinforced, began to act on the offensive. They laid siege to the castle of Amoeneberg, near the river Ohm; the bridge over which was defended by a small party of the allies, who were posted in a redoubt on the right of the bridge: the French were also in possession of a little work beyond the bridge. Between these two posts there commenced, on the 21st of September, a warm and obstinate fight; which continued from six in the morning till dark. A very severe and heavy fire of cannon and small arms was kept up for fourteen hours, without the least intermission. There was no attempt on either side to pass the bridge. Fresh troops were reciprocally sent to support the posts which each maintained, as fast as the reliefs had expended their ammunition. But Prince Ferdinand perceiving that it was fighting to no end, as the French by their superiority could hold out longer than himself, at length gave up the point, and next day permitted them to take Amoeneberg, as the fruits of their perseverance. The loss of men on both sides was pretty equal; it

The action at Amoeneberg.

Lost.

body, about four inches below. His Serene Highness recovered of his wound; but he still feels the effects of it in his walking. His Serene Highness was lately married to her Highness Princess Augusta, eldest sister to his Majesty George III. King of Great Britain.

A. D. 1762. did not exceed a thousand men each. However, Prince Ferdinand resolved not to close the campaign till he had gained some equivalent. His eye was upon the city of Cassel, which the French had been in possession of for a very considerable time. He considered, that if he gained possession of this city, he should rescue the principal part of the landgraviate of Hesse out of the hands of the enemy, and thereby add a very important advantage to the common cause, as well as bring the campaign to an happy conclusion. Firm in this opinion, notwithstanding he knew a negociation for peace was set on foot, and that the war *must* soon be terminated, when his services could be no longer wanted, he detached Prince Frederick of Brunswick to lay siege to Cassel; which was accordingly done on the 16th of October. The operations were carried on with great spirit. The garrison sallied out several times, but were not able to interrupt the approaches. Prince Ferdinand covered the siege in so masterly a manner, that the French were not able to relieve the distresses of the garrison, who were in the utmost want of all sorts of provisions. Their necessities, as they were very numerous, in a short time became so exceeding great, that, on the 1st of November, they were compelled to surrender by mere want. Two days after the preliminaries of peace were signed; so that this was the last operation of the allies in Germany, in a long, bloody and expensive war.

The siege
of Cassel.

Cassel sur-
renders.

Conquest
of Marti-
nico.

So early as the month of March, the government received advice of the conquest of Martinico. The fleet and army ordered upon this expedition consist-

ed

ed of 18 ships of the line, besides bombs, fireships, A. D. and frigates ; and 18 battalions, under General 1762. Monckton. They assembled, and were all arrived Expedition sails from Barbadoes, by the 24th of December, and failed with such diligence, that they arrived in the bay of St. Ann's on the 7th of January, and there cast anchor, after the forts on the coast were silenced, by the ships ordered under Sir James Douglas for that service ; with the loss of the *Raisonable*, which was bulged on a little reef of rocks, as she was leading in for one of the enemy's batteries. But the men, stores, and guns were saved. The General had designed to land on the western side of this bay, and to have crossed over to Port Royal bay : but was obliged to desist from that intention, on account of the scarcity of fresh water in that part, and the difficulties that would attend his getting provisions and stores. He then detached Brigadiers Haviland and Grant, with two brigades, to reconnoitre the coast and shore of Ance Darlet ; where they landed, and marched to the ground opposite to the island ; but found the roads impassable for cannon *. Therefore it was resolved to make an attempt between Point Negro and the Cas de Pilotte ; where a landing was effected, without the loss of a man, near the Cas des

Arrives off Martinico.

Difficulty of landing.

Troops landed.

* With the above command, were the light infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, who were advanced the night the command remained there, and were attacked in the night by three companies of grenadiers, some free-booters, negroes, and mulattoes, which the enemy had passed over from Fort-Royal ; but they were so warmly received, that they retreated precipitately, leaving some dead, and a serjeant and three of their grenadiers taken prisoners ; without any loss on our side.

A. D. 1762. Navires, on the 16th, under the favour of the Squadron, which silenced the batteries on the shore, above the landing-place.

Opera-
tions on
shore.

General Monckton formed the march of his army towards the seat of action, incumbered with difficulties and dangers, having many ravines or gullies, very deep and difficult of access, and well covered and guarded with batteries, redoubts, and both the slaves and natives in arms. This obliged him to begin his operations with erecting of batteries for his own security, in order to carry his approaches first to the heights of Mount Grenie and Mount Torteuson, which the enemy had made as strong as art could make them, and, having driven them from thence, to proceed with the siege of Fort Royal.

Siege of
Fort Royal.

His dispositions being made for the attack of those heights, the troops, on the 24th of January, advanced, at break of day, under a brisk fire of their own batteries. The grenadiers, under Brigadier Grant, first falling in with the enemy's advanced posts, began the attack; Brigadier Rufane on the right, with his brigade, and the marines, was to advance and attack the redoubts along the coast; 1000 seamen, in the flat-bottomed boats, rowed up as he advanced: Lord Rollo's brigade supported the grenadiers: Brigadier Walsh, with his brigade (supporting the light infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Scott) to attack the left of a plantation, and to endeavour to get round the enemy. The light infantry effected their attempt, and while the grenadiers were driving the enemy from post to post, they got upon their left, which helped to complete the event of the day.

The

The enemy's works were now successively attacked with the most irresistible impetuosity, so that at nine o'clock our troops were in entire possession of all their works, and the strong ground of Morne Torteufon, consisting of many redoubts mounted with cannon, and advantageously situated, to assist the natural great strength of the country. The enemy retired in the greatest confusion to the town of Fort Royal, and to Morne Garnier (a still higher hill than the Morne Torteufon, and separated from it by a deep ravine, covered with a very thick brush, and a rivulet at the bottom) from whence they thought they were never to be dislodged, both from its natural strength, and the works and batteries they had on it. The spirit of the grenadiers in this attack was such, that some of them even pursued the enemy to the bridge of the town, and brought off prisoners from thence.

While this was doing on this side, Brigadier Haviland, with his brigade, two battalions of Highlanders, and a corps of light infantry, formed from the several regiments, commanded by Major Leland, had orders, (from the reported practicability of the passage) to cross the ravine a good deal to the left, and attack a body of the enemy, who were posted on several heights opposite to him, and to try to get in on their left, and by that means to divide their force. Yet, although they began their march at two o'clock in the morning, such was the difficulty of access, after every means had been tried, that it was late before they effected it.

When General Monckton found that the enemy were giving way on all sides, he ordered Lieutenant

A. D. 1762. Colonel Scott's light infantry, Brigadier Walsh's brigade, and a division of the grenadiers, to a plantation more to the left, where Brigadier Haviland was to have come down : they drove off some of the enemy posted there ; and the light infantry possessed themselves of a very advantageous post, opposite to Morne Garnier : to support them, the General ordered Brigadier Haviland's corps (which had now passed) to their right ; the division of grenadiers, under Brigadier Grant, and Walsh's brigade, kept possession of this upper plantation, and communicated with Haviland's corps. The marines, taken from Brigadier Rufane, were posted to cover the road between the two plantations.

On the 25th, they began to erect batteries on Morne Torteufon, against the citadel of Fort Royal, but were much annoyed on that, and the following day, by the enemy from Morne Garnier. Finding that it was absolutely necessary to attack this place to the left, where the corps of light infantry, and Brigadier Haviland's brigade, were posted, the general determined immediately to erect batteries against those of the enemy, which annoyed his troops, and which might also cover a passage of the ravine. On the 27th, about four o'clock in the evening, the enemy, under cover of their batteries, and with the greatest part of their force, had the temerity to attack the two corps of light infantry, and Brigadier Haviland's brigade, in the posts they occupied ; but were received with such steadiness, that they were immediately repulsed ; and such was the ardour of the

the troops, that they passed the ravine with the enemy, seized their batteries, and took post there; being reinforced by Brigadier Walsh's brigade, and the division of grenadiers under Brigadier Grant, who immediately, on the attack, had marched to support them. Night was now come on; but Major Leland moving on, to the left, with his light infantry, and finding no opposition, continued his rout towards the enemy's redoubt, which he soon came up to, and took possession of; the enemy (except a few grenadiers who were made prisoners) having abandoned it. Their troops retired into the town and citadel, and the militia dispersed in the country. Brigadiers Walsh, Grant, and Haviland, immediately moved up to support the light infantry; so that at nine o'clock at night, his Majesty's troops were in possession of this very strong post, which entirely commanded the citadel. So precipitate was the enemy's flight, that they left a mortar loaded, and eight or nine guns unspiked, with a quantity of ammunition and provisions. The cannon and mortar were turned against the citadel in the morning.

Having gained this advantageous post, from which the enemy had so much annoyed us, and having compleated two batteries on Morne Tortefon, consisting of fourteen guns and three mortars, they were opened on the 30th; but finding that the distance was too great, and having now Morne Capuchin in his power (not more than 400 yards distant from the fort) as well as the possession of the town, the general immediately resolved to

A. D. 1762. to erect batteries at both these places, the sooner to reduce the citadel; and for the easier conveyance of his cannon by water, he ordered Major Leland, with his light infantry, to take post on the river Monsieur.

The enemy perceiving their designs, on the evening of the 3d instant, beat the chamade; in consequence of which, the gate of the citadel was delivered up to his Majesty's troops the evening of the 4th, and at nine o'clock next morning the garrison marched out, on the terms of the capitulation. It consisted of about 800 men, grenadiers, marines, militia and free-booters. About 150 of the garrison were killed and wounded in the siege.

Loss on both sides. The total killed on our side were ninety-six, including one captain, five lieutenants, one ensign, three serjeants: and the total wounded were 389, including one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, eleven captains, fifteen lieutenants, three ensigns, twenty serjeants and five drummers¹.

Its effects. This conquest of Fort Royal so intimidated the islanders, that they immediately sent deputations from most quarters, to desire likewise to capitulate; and on the 7th Pidgeon island, one of the defences of Fort Royal harbour, surrendered by summons,

¹ The grenadiers of the army, in three divisions, headed by the Lieutenant-Colonels Fletcher, Masséy and Vaughan, and the light infantry and rangers, in three bodies, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, Major Leland, and Captain Kennedy, distinguished themselves particularly, the warmest part of the service having fallen to their lot.

on the same terms granted to the citadel; the cannon excepted. However, the quarter of St. Pierre, and parts adjacent, being under the influence of M. La Touche, the governor-general, who retired with some grenadiers to St. Pierre, after placing a garrison in Fort Royal, seemed determined to dispute the remainder of the island with our forces. Therefore, it was resolved, to proceed, without delay, to besiege St. Pierre. But despairing of relief, and terrified by the preparations making against them, those quarters also, with the consent of M. La Touche, eased them of that trouble by their offer of terms, sent by two deputies on their part, to capitulate; in consequence of which St. Pierre, and therewith the whole island of Martinico, was delivered up to his Britannic Majesty's forces on the 14th of February.

A. D.
1762.

General
Monckton pre-
pares for
the siege
of St.
Pierre.

St. Pierre
and the
whole
island sur-
renders.

The general having, by this time, heard a report that a rupture with Spain was daily expected, thought it most for his Majesty's service, to remain upon this island, to settle many material affairs relative to the security of this conquest. Therefore he committed the ulterior part of his instructions, relative to the reduction of the Grenades, &c. to Brigadier-General Walsh, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, assisted by a sufficient strength of men of war.

Other
Caribbee
islands re-
duced.

Commodore Swanton and Brigadier-General Walsh performed their service against the Grenades and Granadilles, which islands, with their dependencies, surrendered to their ships and troops on the 5th of March; the chief force thereof consisting

Granade
and Gra-
nadilles.

A. D. 1762. consisting of inhabitants and free-booters. The English landed on the 5th of March. The governor, with some regulars and free-booters, had possessed himself of a very strong and advantageous post, commanding the fort, and shewed an intention to defend the place. But he no sooner saw the English troops landed, and favourably posted, than he abandoned his strong situation; and finding himself deserted by the inhabitants, the communication with the country cut off, and the impossibility of relief, he submitted without firing a gun. So that this valuable conquest, which is annexed to the crown of Great Britain by the definitive treaty, did not cost us a single man.

St. Lucie. Captain Harvey was detached to St. Lucie; which island surrendered to him at discretion. **St.**

St. Vincent. Vincent did the same; as did the rest of the Caribbee islands. Yet all these successes, which effectually tended to humble our enemies, and to enable us to make a more advantageous peace, and especially to reject any accommodation with France upon their insidious proposals, were not sufficient to prevail with our ministry to continue the war, but they employed every engine to renew the pacific negociations with our enemies, with assurances of conditions on the part of Great Britain, to their satisfaction.

Expedition against the Havanna. The rupture with Spain brought up a plan, which had been formed long before, upon the presumption of such an event. The merit of this plan has been attributed to Admiral Knowles, and also



MAJOR GENERAL MONCKTON
Governor of New York .

also to Lord Anson. Admiral Knowles is allowed to have laid his plan before his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland; who approved of the plan, and recommended it to the ministry. But after they had considered the admiral's draughts and plan for the expedition, Lord Anson, the first Lord of the Admiralty, produced his own plan, drawn from the most accurate information: and after mature consideration and comparing both plans, his Lordship's was adopted. However, the compliment was paid to his Royal Highness to appoint the officers in chief, for carrying this expedition into execution, who appointed the Earl of Albemarle commander in chief of the land forces; and Admiral Pocock was appointed to the chief command of the fleet, which was equipped at Portsmouth in the month of February. But their sailing orders were greatly impeded by the pacific disposition of the ministry, who could not be persuaded to give final orders for this expedition, till all hopes of an accommodation with Spain were lost, in the invasion of Portugal. For it was the 5th of March before this armament sailed from England; being retarded so long, that there could be very little prospect of advantage from it; which ought to have sailed a full month before, to arrive at the place of its destination, in the proper season; and to come upon the Spaniards before they could be prepared to receive them. Besides, the slenderness of the force sent on this expedition does not shew, that it was adopted with any spirit, or intended to act for advantage. There were no more than four

A. D.
1762.Com-
manders
in chief.

Delayed.

Slender
strength.

A. D. 1762. four ships of the line and one frigate, and only four regiments of land forces; with orders to join the fleet and troops in Martinico: but, if that island should not be taken; to proceed to the Havanna, leaving the work at Martinico uncompleted.—All which shew, that a miscarriage at Martinico would have been no disappointment to the wishes of the ministry: who took more pleasure in finding fault with Mr. PITT's administration and plans, than in pursuing his measures, or in giving due praise to his merit.

But what contributed most to convince the nation of the dislike the men in power had to the success of our arms, was the jeopardy, in which Admiral Pocock was ordered to sail. It was no secret that a strong squadron had got out of Brest, and sailed for the West-Indies, under the command of M. Blenac. This squadron, of seven ships of the line, and four frigates, with fifty-one companies on board, arrived off Martinico a few days after the surrender of Fort Royal, and gaining intelligence of that event from a fisherman at sea, M. Blenac steered for Cape Francois. A force too powerful for Admiral Pocock's four ships to encounter, and it was amazing that he escaped them; which must have infallibly put an end to the expedition against the Havanna: and perhaps, have adorned a French port with our ships of war.

Admiral Pocock, &c. arrive at Martinico. However, it was Admiral Pocock's good fortune to arrive safe at Martinico, on the 22d of April. Lord Albemarle now took the chief command,

mand, and General Monckton repaired to his station at New York. But it was the 27th of May before every thing was ready to proceed.

A. D.
1762.

The whole strength collected at Martinico, for carrying this expedition against the Havanna into execution, consisted of 12 ships of the line, 18 frigates, and about 10,000 soldiers.

The Havanna has a copious and secure harbour, where 1000 sail of ships may ride with safety, defended by a narrow entrance, well defended by forts and platforms of cannon, and two strong castles. The town is near two miles in circumference, with 30,000 inhabitants of all sorts, and upwards, besides soldiers in garrison. It is situated at the entrance into the Gulph of Florida, at the distance of 200 miles S. of Cape Florida, and on the N. W. part of the island of Cuba, in North America.

Descrip-
tion of the
Havanna.

Sir George Pocock, sensible of the short time that was left for completing the work committed to his charge; to conduct and land the army embarked for the conquest of the Havanna, there remaining a little more than a month, before the rains would set in and prevent the operations by our land forces, without whom the city was not to be reduced: and doubtful of the possibility to arrive at the place of their destination in due time, by the common course of the navigation from Martinico to the island of Cuba, resolved to attempt a more expeditious passage through the old Streights of Bahama; having sent the Richmond, Captain Elphinstone, to explore the coast and navigation: and take every precaution to prevent any misfortune to the ships in that difficult, unfrequented and almost unknown sea.

The ad-
miral's
vigilant
and wise
conduct.

Attempts
a passage
through
the old
Streights
of Baha-
ma.

In

A. D. In these streights, on the 3d of June, the Echo
1762. and Alarm, which had been ordered a-head of the
Meets and fleet, to lye on the Cayo Sal Bank, descried four
takes two vessels, which proved to be the Thetis, a Spanish
French frigate of 18 guns, 65 men, and the Phoenix, car-
ships of rying 22 guns and 175 men, and two brigs * bound
war. to Suga, in the streights, for timber for the use of
 the ships of the Havanna. The two English frigates
 chaced them. The Alarm, Captain Alms, came up
 with the Thetis, and obliged both her and the
 Phoenix to strike, in three quarters of an hour".
 The brigantine and one schooner were obliged to
 submit to their fate; but the other schooner escaped.

Arrives Our fleet had a very fine passage through the old
off the streights : so that, on the 5th, they were got clear
Havanna. through, and saw the Metances. On the 6th, in
 the morning, being not above four leagues east from
 the port of the Havanna, the admiral ordered the
 fleet to bring to, and issued his directions to the
 captains of the fleet, and the masters of the trans-
 ports, for landing the army under the command of
 the Honourable Commodore Keppel, with whom he
 left six ships of the line and some frigates. The ad-
 miral having manned the flat-bottomed boats from
 the fleet, bore away at two o'clock in the afternoon,
 with thirteen ships of the line, two frigates, two
 bomb-vessels and thirty-six sail of victuallers and
 store-ships, and ran down off the harbour ; where
 there laid twelve Spanish ships of the line and seve-

* See Osbridge's Perspective View of this Engagement taken upon the spot.

" The Thetis had ten men killed and fourteen wounded. The Alarm had seven men killed and ten wounded.

ral merchantment. Next morning the admiral embarked the marines in boats, and made a feint of landing about four miles to the west of the Havanna. ^{A. D. 1762.} ^{Army landed.} About the same time the Earl of Albemarle completed the landing of the whole army between the rivers Boca-Nova and Coximar, about six miles east of the Moro. This drew a body of the enemy to that shore; but they were immediately dispersed by the fire of the Mercury and Bonetta sloop, ordered by Commodore Keppel to scour the beach and the woods: and a more considerable body of men advancing, to dispute the passage of the river Coximar, Captain Harvey, in the Dragon, was ordered by the commodore to run in and batter the castle; which was presently silenced, and the army passed over unmolested. The admiral, by sounding the shore near Punta fort, found to the west^a from twenty to five fathom water, and an easy landing for any number of men. The enemy, the same afternoon, sunk one of their large ships in the mouth of the harbour, and another next morning, to prevent the entrance of our fleet. On the 10th, at the request of Lord Albemarle, who intended to attack the Cavanois, Captain Knight, in the Belleisle, <sup>Disposi-
ons for the
siege of
the Moro
castle.</sup> was ordered to make a diversion, to facilitate that measure, by battering the castle of Choreia: which had such a good effect, that between one and two in the morning the enemy quitted the fort; and the Cavanois was carried with very little loss. And at

^a On the 8th day of June.

^o She was supported by the Cerberus, Mercury, Bonetta and Lurcher, and ordered to keep firing in the woods all night. He also embarked all the marines in boats.

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1762.

night the Edgar, Stirlingcastle and Echo bomb-vessels, began to throw shells into the town.

On the 12th the Spaniards entirely blocked up the harbour, by sinking a third ship at its entrance, and laying a boom a-crofs the narrow part. By land the

The Moro
invested.

army advanced, and encamped in the woods between Coximar and the Moro, on the 9th: on the 10th, in the evening, a detachment of light infantry and grenadiers, under Colonel Carleton, invested the Moro; on the 11th he carried the Spanish redoubt upon Moro-hill, and established a post; and on the 12th it was resolved to erect a battery against the Moro Castle, as near as the woods would admit; and every other preparation was begun to attack and reduce that fort. But the soil being very thin and scarce, made the works very tedious and difficult. However, by the assistance of a great number of seamen, who landed and assisted in drawing up the cannon on the shore, supplied the ordnance stores and water, made fascines; old cables for erecting defences, and old canvas for making sand-bags, and manned the batteries; they were enabled to proceed with their works so effectually, that the bomb-batteries began to play against the Moro on the 20th; though the scarcity of earth retarded the opening of the cannon-batteries till the 1st of July.

Batteries
begin to
play.

All the batteries were completed without any material opposition from the enemy till the 29th, when two detachments, of 500 men each, consisting of grenadiers and chosen men, and a body of Mulattoes and armed Negroes to each party, landed at day-break, one upon the right, under the Moro; the other upon the left of the lime kiln. But they were repulsed,

repulsed, with the loss of 200 killed and prisoners, A. D. 1762.
besides a great number wounded by our piquets and
advanced guards, who had only ten men killed and
wounded.

This action accelerated the opening of our bat-
teries, which, being supplied on the 30th with am-
munition, &c. carried by the soldiers and 500
blacks, purchased by Lord Albemarle at Martinico
and Antigua, for that purpose, two of them were
opened on the first of July in the morning. At the same time the Cambridge, of 80 guns, the Dragon, of 74 guns, and the Marlborough, of 66 guns, were stationed as near as possible to the Moro Castle, with an intention to dismount the enemy's guns, and to beat down the wall of the castle; or at least to draw some fire from the batteries.

The fire was very furious on both sides: and the three ships of the line did all in their power against a fort so high above them, for above six hours, when they were so damaged, in their hulls, masts and yards, sails, rigging, and men killed and wounded, that the admiral was obliged, to order them off. However, the general acknowledged that they had done him considerable service, in taking up the enemy's attention for that time, which gained him a superiority in the number of guns.

On the 9th in the morning we had got 12 guns in battery, besides mortars; and increased them to 18

^p Amongst whom was Captain Godfrey, of the Cambridge. In the Dragon, killed sixteen, wounded thirty-seven. In the Cambridge, killed twenty-four, wounded ninety-five. In the Marlborough, killed two, wounded eight.

A. D. 1762. by the 11th, which then opened and played with success against eight or nine, which the enemy still kept up, by their uninterrupted communication with the town, and the great assistance of their sailors, who served their guns, and enabled them to make the losses of the day good by night. But a fresh misfortune appeared; one of our guns was disabled, another cracked, and a third ran: and in the afternoon of the same day, the merlons of the grand battery again caught fire, and extended from right to left, so that the whole was irreparably consumed.

Enemy's
fire slack-
ened.

However, such was the spirit of our men, as well as the skill and conduct of the officers, that we had got 20 guns mounted on the 14th; and reduced the enemy's to five or six, in the morning, which were again reduced to two before dark; and the whole front attacked appeared in a most ruinous condition. Nevertheless, the enemy, though kept in a continual hurry and confusion, behaved with spirit; and seemed determined to dispute the last inch of ground, and to spend the last ball.

Preparations were diligently carried on for our approaches. The 40th regiment was employed in making gabions, and several men of war in making junks, blinds and mantelets; and some bales of cotton were purchased of the Jamaica fleet, homeward bound, to serve as wool-packs, and to fill up the ditch, when they should attack in breach.

Sap be-
gun.

On the 17th in the evening, our troops began their sap; and next night it was carried on about two thirds of the way to a small battery at the foot of.

of the forties, before the right bastion: and a small lodgment was made at the edge of the wood before the point of the west bastion. On the 19th the enemy shewed an appearance of resistance, by firing with three guns from the front attacked; but they were soon silenced; and about noon, our men took possession of the covered way, before the point of the right bastion. The sap was continued, and another began along the covered way before the right face. But in both the miners were greatly discouraged, by the badness of the ground and the hidden rocks. Besides, they had like to have been all cut off by surprize, had it not been for the bravery of the advanced guard: for, about four o'clock in the morning, on the 22d, a sally was made from the town of

A. D.
1762.

A sally
from the
castle.

1500 men in three parties; one of which pushed up the bank behind the shepherd's battery; but were stopt for near an hour by a guard of about 30 men only, posted there, commanded by Captain Stuart, of the 90th regiment, till 100 sappers, and the third battalion of Royal Americans arrived to his assistance. The fire continued hot all that time: and this united force drove the enemy down the bank with great slaughter. Some of them recovered their boats, but many of them leapt into the water, and 150 and upwards were drowned. Another party endeavoured to push up by the salient angle of the Moro to attack the sappers upon the glacis, and their covering party; but they were beat off in a very short time. The third party advanced towards the Spanish redoubt, but finding our men ready to receive them, they returned very peaceably, from

Repulsed
with great
loss.

A a 3

whence

A. D.
1762.

whence they came. The alarm was entirely over and our people returned to their work, before eight o'clock. While their troops were driven down the bank, the enemy's cannon kept up a violent fire upon our men from the Punta, west bastion, and from the lines and flanks of the entrance, and from their shipping; not sparing their own people, so that they might kill some of ours. And during the attack the garrison were all in motion, and some embarked in boats to sustain their comrades, till they perceived it would be in vain, and hasten their ruin; they having lost in the attempt near 400 men killed and drowned, besides the many wounded, who escaped: whereas our loss did not exceed 90 killed and wounded.

Remarks
on this
sally.

In this action we may discover the design of the enemy to have been nothing less, than to raise the siege by one blow, after they were convinced that there was no safety to be expected from their shattered walls, and their disabled cannon. Their scheme was bold, manly and judicious: but it failed in the execution, through an effeminate timidity, and a want of military knowledge. On the other hand, good fortune favoured our army, and they were saved: for, had the Spaniards but effected their design, to have burnt the fascine batteries, which had been the languid labour of many sultry days, in the then sickly and still sickening state of our troops, few in that army would have proposed to make new ones; and perhaps all had not kept up their hopes even to that hour, in which such great feats were performed both to the honour and military reputation of individuals, as you will find by the accurate

account

account in the margin ¹, transmitted to us by one concerned ; and to the glory of the British arms.

A. D.
1762.

¹ *An Extract from the journal of an officer, of this sort, but very interesting, space of time.*

July 22, two o'clock in the morning, the miners were advanced about eighteen feet under the face of the bastion, opposite our right. The sap, in some degree, formed before its face, and a small portion of the curtain, near the palisadoes ; where the engineers, fearing it should be taken in flank from the town, had directed it should turn off from the glacis, and run along the height, from whence the ground, or rather the bare rock, slopes on either side to the sea and harbour. The brigadier of the day disapproving of this turning off from the glacis, where only there was earth to carry on a work difficult and tedious, in open view of the batteries from the town and harbour, and which would draw their fire on that flimsy-line we called a sap, which, towards the sea, advanced from our batteries to the glacis, the only communication we had ; he therefore sent for Captain Dixon, engineer of the night, took him close along the palisadoes to the left, shewed him that there, and there only, our sap could be easy and safe to carry on, and when made would command the entrance of the ditch, and front attacked : the engineer approving of this alteration, directed the workmen accordingly.

The appearance of the atmosphere foretelling the approach of day, a serjeant and 12 men were ordered to look into the spur, which advanced from the Moro a little towards the sea ; but something lower than the level of the rampart, from whence it run out. They had orders to make no noise, to observe that work, the nature of its communication with the body of the fort, and (if possible) the state of the garrison. They got over the narrow slip of the rock, which led to the entrance of the mine, then descending a ladder, in a confined notch in the rock, to the edge and level of the sea, from thence mounted a taller ladder, and got up to the top of the parapet (these ladders had been placed the night before, by two engineers, who reported they had been discovered, and large stones thrown down upon them) ; but the third man was

A a 4

scarcely

A. D.
1762.Siege vi-
gorously
continued

The hazard of this sally being passed, new works and new batteries were planted, erected and executed, and

scarcely now on the top of this ladder, when about 12 Spaniards, who were lying close on their faces, bounced up, ran into a rampart, and gave the alarm. The serjeant immediately returning, was sent back to obey his orders more perfectly; he was soon fired at in his return, but received no harm: this fire ran quite along the front attacked, and even beyond towards the harbour; its violence plainly shewed the numbers in the fort to be much more considerable, than many would believe. The alarm-bell rang in the Moro. The reveille was beat by all the drummers in the town: the day was then faintly broke upon the horizon, and no more. Our posts at a distance fortunately took the alarm. These at the glacis saw no cause, though something very serious was on the point of execution; in a little two or three dropping shot were seen and heard towards our left, and quickly after a close and heavy fire from musketry, which appeared dangerous from the first instant. Our workmen throwing down their tools, ran to their arms. Dixon's battery, and another about two hundred yards behind it, called Williams's, were first exposed, being nearest the harbour; a party of about 30 men covered each, advanced still nearer the harbour in the coppice, which almost covered all the ground, leaving clear only about two-hundred yards, close to the glacis and harbour side. Lieutenant Henry, of the 34th, commanded that party near Dixon's; these were placed in a stone quarry, as in a kind of covertway; Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, of the 90th, commanded the other; his men were placed behind some fascines, which had been thrown there for other purposes, besides an abatti of a prickly sort of West India shrub ran before, a little without the coppice: the guards in those batteries near at hand were also small, but 150 men under the command of Major Farmer, of the 34th, were posted in the burnt battery, about 100 yards from Dixon's; he had his men under arms before the alarm, and had marched off an hundred without delay, to support those posts, conformable to the orders he had received a few hours

THE LATE WAR.

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and on the 27th, the Earl was reinforced very providentially with the first of the troops ordered to his assistance

A. D.
1762.

hours before: the brigadier of the day passing there soon after, took the remaining 50, but in a little was joined by the Royal, who to oppose such attempts had been encamped close by under the shelter of the rock, and these being also under arms, on receiving an order, came up full speed: the 50 were then sent back, for the fire had spread towards the sap, which the burnt-battery in some sort protected. The Royal were led directly to Stuart's post, and found Major Farmer marching out to the left; they passed close upon his right hand, till clear of the coppice, when, turning full to the right to gain the enemies flanks, they marched in file strait to that rock, which sloping gently to the land, covered our men from the floating batteries, and from those of the town; but to the harbour it falls, at once, a steep precipice: such is the ground back to the Spanish redoubt, but advancing to the Moro slopes down to the harbour so as to afford an easy ascent, and is exposed to the fire of all those batteries: there they landed 1500 men, and up these heights they marched to attack our posts, expecting to be soon joined by their remaining force from the town; they had forced neither, and we had suffered little; Stuart's, two or three wounded; Henry's suffered, being taken in front and flank, more, and thus seven fell by the first fire: they also attempted our sap; Lieutenant Forbes of the Royal, an experienced officer for that rank, and the same who without hesitation led the first 50 men that assaulted the Moro, and when possessed of the rampart disposed of them judiciously till further supported; this Lieutenant had the charge of the sap the moment of the attack. All our troops remained firm; the enemy, ignorant and timid, immediately shrunk aside from before their fire: it had lasted about 10 or 15 minutes, if in such circumstances one may guess at time: but not having knowledge to make use of their numbers in the first moments, and being taken in flank by the Royal and Major Farmer's party, no wonder they soon were driven down the hill in confusion. Lieutenant Ashe, a valiant young officer, not wanting prudence, who brought up the Royal with so much speed, was mortally

A. D. 1762. mortally wounded on this attack. The foremost of the flying enemy, seizing what boats remained, put off; the rest shifting from place to place, and calling on their friends across the harbour, as people in despair. Our affairs required that they should smart for such attempts, which hazarded our all; the faintness of the light was no small advantage to those troops, whose strength was not in numbers. The whole was therefore ordered to advance; the Royal, Major Farmer's corps, and parties that had been sent from each of these, into the coppice between Stuart and Henry, when first they marched up: these, in all about 230 men, pushing forward, formed a curved line of a single rank on the top of the heights, from whence their shot centering on these trembling heroes, flung them severely; while they, confused from their bad situation, returned a faint and unequal fire: thus having continued some time, it was judged prudent to order the troops to return; for insensibly they had descended half way the hill, and the light becoming stronger would have exposed them as clear marks to the cannon of their floating batteries, to those of their frigates, to those of Punta-fort, to their north bastion, and to those of their lines; all which were the more formidable, as we were within reach of their grape shot, and as yet we had not one cannon to oppose them. The troops for these reasons being ordered back, the brigadier of the day went to enquire how matters had passed near Dixon's battery; passing by Stuart's post, he sent that officer to repeat his orders, and quicken the execution. Having gone far enough to see all was well and quiet at Dixon's, and hearing the fire still continue on the side of the hill, and growing more uneasy as the day advanced, he returned to those troops, repeating order upon order, and urging them to be expeditious, got them fortunately back to the heights, before one cannon was fired. Our troops no sooner regained the top of the hill but they perceived a party of the enemy, nearly within musket shot; they had been permitted to pass the Spanish redoubt, and came to relieve their distressed friends below, but too late: the brigadier of the day being wounded, Major Farmer then took the command, attacked and soon drove them from whence they came: then placing his men near the edge of the precipice, they with safety fired down into the boats: there they were

soon

assistance from North America, under Brigadier A. D. Burton.
1762.

The mines were prepared on the 29th, to be sprung, on the next morning : but the enemy, by sending two boats and a floating battery out of the harbour, to fire with grape shot into the ditch, where the miners were at work, obliged the springing to be deferred till two o'clock in the afternoon. That in the bastion, by throwing down a part of both faces, made a practicable breach : and the troops mounting with an extraordinary resolution, they formed most expeditiously upon the top of

soon joined by some regiments, who begun to arrive from camp. Shortly after began a violent cannonading : General Keppel was arrived at Dixon's battery, and the Royal Americans ; these he ordered down the hill.

Thus ended their sally, about sun rising, with little loss to us, if we compare the number of our killed with those of the enemy, or if we consider that our all was then contended for ; but when we reflect on the then feeble state of our troops, and the worth of those who fell, we must confess every man we lost was much to be regretted.

G. C.

* The Chesterfield and four transports were stranded, in their voyage from New York, upon Cayo Comfito, the entrance of the Bahama Streights on the Cuba side, on the 24th of July, but lost no lives. The soldiers and seamen were taken up and brought to the army on Cuba, by the Richmond, &c. The second division did not arrive at the Havanna till the 2d of August ; and five of the transports, containing 150 regulars and 150 provincial troops on board of them, were picked out of the convoy, by a squadron of French men of war ; two ships of the line, three frigates and six sail of brigan-tines and sloops, on the 21st of July, near the passage between Muya Gnaona and the North Caicos.

the

A. D.
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the breach, and drove the enemy from every part of the ramparts. By which assault 130 men and several Spanish officers were killed on the spot; amongst whom was the brave Don Lewis de Valasco, captain of a man of war, and governor of the Moro, in defending the colours, which he held in one hand, while he fought with his other. There were about 400 threw down their arms and begged for quarter, and the rest of the garrison of the Moro, were either killed in boats or drowned in attempting to escape to the Havanna: with the loss on our side of no more than two officers killed, and about 30 men killed and wounded.

General's
activity
and con-
duct.

Prepara-
tions for
besieging
the Ha-
vanna.

The General in possession of this important post, prepared with all diligence to attack the city of Havanna. He made the best use of the Moro, and erected batteries upon the Cavannos: and had the west side of the town reconnoitered, that, if found necessary, he might attack it from that quarter also. The garrison in the city were very vigilant and brisk. Their fire was vigorous and well pointed, and the governor tried to discom- mode, and galled our men by stationing a 74 gun ship opposite the Fuerza, to fire against the Moro. But perceiving that it was resolved to form the attack on the west side also; and that preparations were making to erect a redoubt, and parties were

* The siege lasted twenty-nine days; and it was taken by storm on the 30th of July, 1762. in which the Spaniards lost above 1000 men.

detached

detached for the road to Punta; they began to A. D. 1763.
cannonade along that road very briskly, about
break of day on the 10th of August. The same
morning, about ten o'clock, the batteries being
opened on the east, and the ground ready to be
opened on the west, Lord Albemarle sent a flag of
truce by an aid de camp, to acquaint the governor
with the ruin that threatened the place, and
summoned him to capitulate. The governor at
last gave a very civil and proper answer, saying,
That he would defend his town to the last ex-
tremity: but he did not act very politely in
keeping the flag of truce from ten in the morn-
ing till between three and four in the afternoon
in the open fields, and beginning to fire before
the flag had got two thirds in the way back.

Next morning (11th) at day-break, all the Batteries
batteries were opened, and contained forty-five opened.
pieces of cannon and eight mortars. The ad-
vantage of position, as well as superior fire, be-
came visible very soon. For, Punta was silenced
between nine and ten: the north bastion was re-
duced to the fire of two guns only, now and
then, in an hour more; and about two, flags of
truce were hung all round the garrison and on
board the admiral's ship, and another flag was Flag of
sent to our head-quarters, with proposals for a ca- truce
pitulation. hung out.

This produced a cessation of hostilities. The Cessation
works were stopt for the night, and the flag re- of the fire.
turned about dusk. But some difficulties arising,
about the surrender of the Spanish shipping, lying
in

A. D. 1762. in the harbour, the negociation was prolonging till the 13th in the morning, when it was signed and sealed: by which the town, and the ships in the harbour, were given up to his Majesty's arms: and in consequence thereof our troops were put in possession of the Punta and Land gate on the 14th, and our sailors took possession of the ships.

Remarks. This was a most happy event for the English army and fleet, who were very sickly, and stood in need of fresh provisions and rest, as well as shelter from the heavy rains, that were already set in for the season: besides, there were several thousands poor sick wretches, in the camp and hospital ships, wasting away for want of nourish-

A list of ships that were in the harbour of the Havanna.

Guns.

70 Tiger, (El Marquis Real Transporte,) surrendered with the city.
70 Reyna, ditto.
70 Soverano, ditto.
70 Infante, ditto.
70 Neptune, sunk.
70 Aquilon, surrendered.

Guns.

64 Asia sunk.
60 America, surrendered with the city.
60 Europa, sunk.
60 Conquistador, surrendered.
60 San Genero, ditto.
60 San Antonio, ditto.

FRIGATES.

Vinganza, 24 guns, taken by the Defiance in Mariel Harbour, June 28, 1762.

Thetis, 24 guns, taken by the Alarm, in the old Streights of Bahama, June 2, 1762.

Marte, 18 guns, taken by the Defiance in Mariel Harbour.
N. B. There were two ships of war on the stocks, and several merchant ships in the harbour.

ment

ment, and with diseases incident to the climate, A. D. 1762. which now raged in so terrible a manner, that there remained not above 2500 men capable of real service^a.

Survey the conquest every way, it must be admitted amongst the greatest and most important of our acquisitions. Its seasonable surrender saved the remains of our forces from destruction. It was not possible for them to continue many days longer before that city. The intemperature of the season would have soon disabled the most powerful army, exposed to the heavy rains, and in want of the necessaries of life.—In the town they found not only relief for their wants; but great riches. Besides cannon, stores, &c. in abundance, and the King's ships, the conquerors became possessed of twenty-five merchant ships, about 3,000,000 dollars, and several large magazines of merchandize to an immense value.—And above all Great Britain was put in possession of an island, that enabled her to be the bulwark and preserver of the liberties of Europe, against the attempts of the House of Bourbon, lately designed in the Family compact; for, this conquest may be properly called the key to those riches,

^a Total Officers, 11 killed, 19 wounded, 39 died, 4 dead of wounds.

Fifteen serjeants, 4 drummers, 260 rank and file, killed, Forty-nine serjeants, 6 drummers, 576 rank and file wounded. One serjeant, 4 drummers, 125 rank and file, missing. Fourteen serjeants, 11 drummers, 632 rank and file, died. One drummer, 51 rank and file, dead of wounds. Taken from the return since the time of landing.

with

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1762.

with which the principals in that league had proposed to continue the war, and to beat down all opposition to their interests, power and ambition.

The difficulties it was attended with,

But here let us stop awhile, and review the difficulties, hardships and fatigues the besiegers underwent. It is impossible to describe one half of them, which the conquerors had to surmount in the most unhealthy season. None but those, who have been at the Havanna, and know the destructive seasons of the western world, can conceive, or form an idea of the severe duties and miseries, which they underwent during this long and vigorous siege. Nothing but the uncommon spirit and perseverance of the general officers seemed equal to the task. Yet these were miseries, which in a great measure might have been prevented or avoided, by a more seasonable expedition. Had the *written advice* been admitted to take place either there would have been no war with Spain, or the Havanna would have been attacked, and probably in our possession long before the rainy season, and thereby saved those victims, which were carried off by sickness.

How received in England.

The spirit of the nation, at this juncture, may be most properly represented by the addresses to his Majesty on the reduction of the French islands of Martinico, &c. and the Spanish port of the Havanna. In the former, the city of London congratulate his Majesty upon the glorious and important conquest of the strong, fertile and opulent

lent Island of Martinico, &c. which acquisitions they account doubly valuable, as they considerably diminished the naval and commercial strength of France, and proportionably extended and secured the commerce and navigation of Great Britain. The amazing rapidity of this conquest, said the addressers, reflected a lustre upon our former triumphs, as well as the highest honour upon the royal wisdom that planned and directed; the skill, unanimity and activity that conducted, and the heroic valour of the fleet and army that effected it with so little loss; and left his Majesty at full liberty to turn his victorious arms to other places, where his enemies were no less vulnerable, and would feel most sensibly the necessity of dissolving their late dangerous compact, and of submitting to terms of peace adequate to our successes, and the expences of this just and necessary war. And in the latter*, that dutiful and loyal city sets forth the value and importance of the Havanna: looks upon

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1762.
Addressers

* *To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.*

The humble address of the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled.

Most gracious Sovereign,

We your Majesty's ever dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and commons of your city of London, in common-council assembled, humbly beg leave to congratulate your Majesty, upon the late signal success with which it has pleased the Almighty to bless your Majesty's arms, in the reduction of the Havanna and its dependencies (most properly

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filed

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upon it to be the means of effectually defeating the ambitious views of France and Spain : and assures

filled the key of the Spanish West Indies, and long deemed impregnable) under a capitulation that does honour to the spirit and humanity of the British nation.

It is with the highest pleasure we reflect upon the value and importance of this conquest, attended with the acquisition of immense riches, and an irreparable blow to the trade and naval power of Spain. A conquest, that gives additional lustre to an already glorious and successful war ; and which cannot but strike terror into an enemy, not only unprovoked, but insensible to the repeated instances of your Majesty's good-will, friendship, and moderation , and convince him, that there is no attempt how arduous soever, but what, planned and directed by the wisdom of your Majesty's councils, may, under the Divine Providence, be effected by the harmony, activity, and abilities of such commanders, and the valour, zeal and emulation of your fleets and armies, regardless of any fatigues or dangers, wherever the glory of their King and country is concerned.

May the possession of this very valuable conquest, together with other happy consequences of your Majesty's measures, thus wisely and vigorously pursued, prove the means of effectually defeating the ambitious views of your Majesty's enemies, and of for ever dissolving the late alarming compact of the House of Bourbon, calculated to destroy the commerce of your subjects, and replete with danger to the existence of your Majesty's ancient and natural ally, and to the independence of the rest of the powers of Europe.

And we beg leave humbly to assure your Majesty, that your faithful citizens of London, animated with the warmest sense of duty to your Majesty, and their country, will, with unwearied cheerfulness, contribute their utmost efforts to strengthen your Majesty's hands, until your enemies, moved by their own repeated losses and distresses, shall be disposed to listen to such terms

A. D.

1762.

assures his Majesty, that they would, with unwearied cheerfulness, contribute their utmost efforts to strengthen his Majesty's hands; until his enemies, moved by their own repeated losses and distresses, should be disposed to listen to such terms of accommodation, as his royal wisdom might think adequate to our glorious successes; and such as might effectually secure the trade and navigation of his subjects, and prevent the calamities of another war.

These were the sentiments also of the whole nation and people, except those connected with the ministry, who were determined to have a peace: and his Majesty's answer to that part, wherein the addressers hoped for a peace *adequate* to the glorious successes of his Majesty's arms; in which his Majesty was pleased graciously to say, "The steady affections of my people, and their zeal for the honour of my crown, will, I trust, under the blessing of God, enable me to terminate this just war, by an *equitable*, glorious and lasting peace," compared with the measures already taken towards that end, prognosticated something in embryo, that would verify the old proverb, That England always loses by negotiation, what she has gained by her sword.

The minds of the people had been, for some time, agitated and filled with very disagreeable terms of accommodation, as your royal wisdom shall think adequate to our glorious successes; and such as may effectually secure the trade and navigation of your subjects; and prevent the calamities of a future war.

Remarks
on the
measures
at home.

four.
surprized
by the
French.

A. D. 1762. ideas, by the surprize of Newfoundland. The French, apprised of the weak state of that important island, which had been totally neglected, though Mr. PITT did, immediately upon breaking off of the negociation with the French, advise the sending four ships of the line to Newfoundland, to cover it from any attempt from the enemy: and the French knowing how to make an advantage of such a tenure, when their demand of a share in the fishery in North America should come upon the carpet in a negociation for peace; the court of Versailles, at the petty risk of two ships of the line*, two frigates and a bomb-ketch, with 1500 men on board, tried the experiment; and this contemptible force, under the command of the Count d'Haussonville, landed in the bay of Bulls, on the 24th of June, upon that island; seized upon the small settlement in the bay, and on the 27th obliged the garrison of St. John's, consisting only of sixty-three men, to surrender prisoners during the war, with promise to secure them in their persons and effects. But they destroyed every thing that belonged to the fishery; by which they only injured private pro-

* The Robuste, of 74 guns; L'Eveille, of 64; La Garonne, of 44, and the Licorne, of 30, commanded by M. de Ternay. This object was of such consequence to the French that they declined to engage the inferior force of the Superbe, of 74, the Gosport of 44, and the Danae, of 38 guns, with the East India, West-India and North American fleets, under convoy, with which they fell in, on the 11th of May; in order to reserve their full strength for their expedition against Newfoundland.

perty, and ruined many individuals. Having A. D.
1762. done all the mischief in their power, they set about repairing the fortifications of the town; because they intended to hold the place. When the news of this loss reached England, it is impossible to describe the indignation, with which the people were exasperated, against the ministry. In order to allay these heats, the advocates of the ministry endeavoured to persuade the public, "That Newfoundland was barren, inhospitable, and a place of little or no consequence." But this served rather to enrage, and to create worse suspicions, than to appease and reconcile the friends of their country to the measures pursued at court. And when the ministerial trumpeters could make no advantage of this misrepresentation, they endeavoured to fling the blame upon Mr. PITT's neglect of that island; till it also came out, that

The governor was three times summoned to surrender: he would hearken to no proposals, and fired on the King's troops: but the Count d'Hauſſonville, putting himself at the head of the grenadiers, and disposing his troops for an assault, the governor desired to capitulate. The rest of the island, particularly Placentia, the capital of it, was afterwards reduced without a blow.

After the surrender of the fort, the magazines and the garrison, the King's ships entered the harbour, broke the chain that defended the entrance, and found in it the Countess de Grammont frigate, formerly a privateer of Bayonne (which the crew had run a-shore, but which was got off) with a great number of other vessels: which the Chevalier de Ternay made use of to burn, in the north and south harbours, all the vessels, scaffolds, &c. employed in the fishery. *The French account, published by authority.*

A. D. 1762. his proposal to guard Newfoundland from any such attempt, had been neglected.

Remarks
on this
event.

We should be sorry to believe, that any British subject could secretly rejoice at this transaction in favour of their natural enemy: but it is too public to be denied, that the advocates for a peace were more than ordinary alert upon this occasion. It is true, the ministry ordered a squadron and some forces to be got ready for that service: but those orders were so delayed, that Newfoundland must have remained in the hands of France at the commencement of the treaty, to our great disadvantage,

New-
foundland
recovered

had not Sir Jeffery Amherst, the commander in chief in North America, *of his own accord*, detached a sufficient force to drive them away. Sir Jeffery, at New York, informed of this national misfortune, detached his brother, Colonel Amherst, before he received any orders from Europe, with a body of troops to join Lord Colville, who was stationed with one ship of the line and one frigate only, at Halifax. This junction was happily effected on the 11th of September, a few leagues to the south of St. John's, his Lordship having sailed, with his two ships, to reconnoitre the coast of Newfoundland before the Colonel reached Halifax. Next day they landed their troops in Torbay, about three leagues from St. John's; it not being possible to land at Kitty Vitty, where the enemy had stopt up the narrow entrance, by sinking shallops in the channel. The enemy fired on the boats, as the troops landed: but

but the light infantry, having made good their landing, gave them such a fire, as obliged them to retreat. However, they took to the woods, through which our men were to march for four miles, and wounded some of our men with their bush-fire : and were not dispersed till Captain M'Donell's corps rushed in upon them, took three prisoners, and drove the rest away.

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1762.

By this means the little army got safe to the left of Kitty Vitty, where it was intended to secure a communication with the ships for landing the artillery and stores. The enemy, posted upon a hill on the other side of that river, fired upon our men : but a party was detached across the river, which drove the enemy from their advantageous post, and obliged them to retreat towards St. John's, leaving ten prisoners behind. The enemy was still in possession of two very high and steep hills, which commanded the whole ground from Kitty Vitty to St. John's : one was near our advanced posts, and the other near to St. John's : which made it necessary to dislodge them. Accordingly Captain M'Donell, with his corps of light infantry, and the provincial light infantry, supported by the advanced posts, undertook to surprize the enemy on the first hill, which commanded our posts. Captain M'Donell passed their centries and advanced guards, and was not discovered till the enemy's main body saw him climbing up the rocks, and almost at the top, which he gained ; and, having received the ene-

A. D.
1762.

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A. D. my's fire, he threw in his fire so powerfully, that
1762. they gave way^z.

On the 16th the army advanced to the other hill near St. John's, which the enemy had quitted; and the colonel proceeded vigorously in his preparations to attack the town. The French ships of war, equal in number to the English squadron, and superior in guns and men, weighed in the night, and made the best of their way for Corunna^a, where they arrived safe. On the 17th at night the colonel opened a battery, with one eight inch mortar, seven cohorns, and six royals: and the

^a Captain M'Donell was wounded; Lieutenant Schuyler of his company killed, and three or four men, and eighteen wounded. The enemy had three companies of grenadiers, and two piquets at this post, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Belcombe, second in command, who was wounded; a captain of grenadiers wounded and taken prisoner; his lieutenant killed, several men killed and wounded, and thirteen taken prisoners. The enemy had one mortar here, with which they threw some shells in the night; a six pounder not mounted, and two wall pieces. This hill, with one adjoining, commands the harbour.

^a The colonel, suspecting that the garrison would also quit the fort and blow it up, sent the following letter to the commanding officer in St. John's.

Camp before St. John's, Sept. 16, 1762.

SIR,

Humanity directs me to acquaint you of my firm intentions. I know the miserable state your garrison is left in, and am fully informed of your design of blowing up the fort on quitting it; but have a care, for I have taken measures effectually to cut off your retreat: and so sure as a match is put to the train, every man of the garrison shall be put to the sword.

I must

the enemy kept a brisk fire from the fort, and threw some shells. But in the morning the commander in St. John's offered terms of capitulation, which were settled^b; and this most ancient and im-

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I must have immediate possession of the fort, in the state it now is, or expect the consequences.

I give you half an hour to think of it.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant.

To the officer commanding in St. John's.

WILLIAM AMHERST.

Translation of a letter from the Count d'Haussonville, to Lieutenant Colonel Amherst. Dated at St. John's, Sept. 16, 1762.

With regard to the conduct that I shall hold, you may, Sir, be misinformed. I wait for your troops and your cannon; and nothing shall determine me to surrender the fort, unless you shall have totally destroyed it, and that I shall have no more powder to fire.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant.

The Count d'HAUSSONVILLE.

^b *Articles of capitulation.*

Demands of the garrison of St. John, and, in general, of the troops that are in it.

The French troops shall surrender prisoners of war.

"Agreed to."

The officers and subaltern officers shall keep their arms to preserve good order among their troops.

"Agreed to."

Good ships shall be granted to carry the officers, grenadiers and private men, either wounded or not, to France, in the space of one month, on the coast of Brittany.

"Agreed to. Lord Colvill will, of course, embark them as soon as he possibly can."

The

A. D. 1762. important settlement of the English in North America, was once more in the possession of its right

The goods and effects of both the officers and soldiers shall be preserved.

"His Britannic Majesty's troops never pillage."

The gate will be taken possession of this afternoon, and the garrison will lay down their arms.

This is to be signed by Lord Colvill, but it will remain at present, as afterwards, in full force.

Camp before St. John's, Sept. 18, 1762.

(Signed) WILLIAM AMHERST.

Le Comte d'HAUSSONVILLE.

Total of the French troops made prisoners in St. John's Fort.

One colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, thirteen captains, thirteen lieutenants, four ensigns, twenty-seven serjeants, forty-five corporals, forty sub-corporals, twelve drummers, 533 fusileers.

Staff officers.

M. le Comte d'Haussonville, colonel.

M. de Bellicombe, lieutenant-colonel.

M. de Mongon, major and adjutant.

M. Seire, engineer.

Henry, surgeon-major.

Michel, chaplain.

In the return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the troops under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Amherst, from the 13th of September, inclusive.

The total. One lieutenant, eleven rank and file, killed. Three captains, two serjeants, one drummer, thirty-two rank and file, wounded.

Names of the officers.

Lieutenant Schuyler, of Royal Americans, killed.

Captain M'Donell, of Frazer's,

Captain Bailie, of the royal,

Captain M'Kenzie, of Montgomery's,

} wounded.

WILLIAM AMHERST, Lieutenant-Colonel.

owners,

owners, to the great disappointment of those, who depended upon its value to purchase an equivalent for France. A. D.
1762.

We shall here quit the feat of war in America. Remarks.
Where, in one campaign, our troops and sailors performed the greatest exploits with the most amazing activity, that ever were recorded in the annals of any age or nation; and which, in the course of a few months, were lavishly restored to the enemy, without equivalent, and contrary to sound policy; and the lives of 20,000 brave men were lost, chiefly by an ill timed, though successful expedition, without having gained, at the end of the year, one solid advantage.

The King of Prussia, delivered from the Russians and Swedes, and restored to his provinces, King of
Prussia's
affairs. torn from him by the arms of Russia, was more at liberty to pursue his measures against the other parties in the confederacy: but the stoppage of the British subsidy made him hesitate some time in the execution of those measures. However, when Prince
Henry at-
tacks the
Imperial-
ists, &c. in
Saxony
with suc-
cess. he found that he had nothing but himself to trust to, he ordered his brother Henry to take the field in Saxony, against the Imperialists, reinforced by a strong body of Austrians. With this corps the Prince ventured upon action: and though it was not attended with any consequences, his Highness displayed his masterly genius, by surprizing the enemy's left wing*, at Dobeln, beat up their quarters, and made them retreat with the loss of

* On the 14th of May.

2000 men;

A. D.
1762.

2000 men ; some cannon, and a considerable magazine, though the enemy was vastly superior in numbers. But the enemy having called in their detachment, they, in their turn, gained several petty advantages over the advanced posts of the Prussians, and by some trifling skirmishes.

King of
Prussia at-
tacks the
Austrian
advanced
posts.

In the mean time his Prussian Majesty waited an opportunity to attack Count Daun with advantage, who grew now more cautious than ever ; since the defection of the Russians and Swedes, who were ready, on all occasions, to divide the force, and distract the mind of the victor, in case of a miscarriage in the Austrian army. The campaign on this side was opened by forcing the advanced posts of the Austrian right wing ; which spread terror and alarm throughout their whole army. Then he laid siege to Schweidnitz, in defiance to Count Daun.

Lays
siege to
Schweid-
nitz.

Count
Daun's
endea-
vours to
raise it.

His Prussian Majesty sat down before that city on the 8th of August, with a spirit of revenge, determined to recover that important fortress, at all adventures, which had been given up so unaccountably by his general to the Austrians. The only stratagem that the enemy could devise to draw the King from this siege, was to oblige him to march to the assistance of the Prince of Bevern, who was posted with a body of Prussians at Riechenbach. For this purpose, M. Daun detached General Laudohn, with a superior force, to attack the Prince : but not with that secrecy as to prevent his diving into the design. Which being notified by the Prince to the King, and his Highness making
a vigo-

a vigorous stand, till the reinforcement came up. A. D. 1762.
 his Prussian Majesty turned it to the enemy's disadvantage. For the King drew off no more of his General army, than could be spared in the continuation of the siege, and with that draught, he in person, fell upon the Austrians, unexpected, in flank, when they presumed too much on the success of the day over the Prince of Bevern; and, after a short dispute, totally routed Laudohn, with the loss of 2400 men. Laudohn defeated.

M. Daun was so disappointed in this design, Schweidnitz surrenders.
 that he took no other measures for the safety of Schweidnitz: and the garrison of this fortress having lost all hopes of relief, proposed to capitulate. But his Prussian Majesty would grant no other terms, than to surrender prisoners of war. Which being rejected with spirit by Count Guesco, the governor, who declared, he would defend the place to the last extremity, the siege was continued with great vigour, and a terrible fire on both sides, and with doubtful success, till the 8th of October, when a considerable breach being made, by the springing of a mine, that carried away part of the rampart, and the brave governor saw every thing prepared for storming, he, not able to withstand the shock of so powerful an army, commanded by such an able and resolute Prince, immediately surrendered, with a garrison of 10,300 men.^d Thus the House of Brandenburg

^d The Austrians lost in this siege 2000 men killed: the Prussians allowed theirs to exceed 3000 killed.

became

A. D. 1762. became possessed of Schweidnitz, and all its dependencies, by the strength of arms, in the last campaign, which had been wrested several times out of the King's hands, and retaken by him during the war.

Attempts to surround Prince Henry. The confederates thought to have revenged this loss upon Prince Henry. The Imperialists and Austrians in Saxony, were vastly superior to the Prince's army, and were trying to surround them. The King was in some pain for the safety of his brother, and as soon as matters were put upon a proper footing at Schweidnitz, his Majesty marched to his assistance. But Prince Henry, in the mean time, played the general so well, that he not only escaped the snares laid for him by his enemies, but he caught them in such a toil near Freyberg, that, after a very warm engagement for several hours, he gained a complete victory, took 5000 prisoners, 30 pieces of cannon, and got possession of the town of Freyberg. Besides, his enemies were never after in a condition, or in spirits, to look the King of Prussia in the face.

The advantageous state of the King of Prussia. With these successes we shall wind up the bloody war in Germany, between the King of Prussia and his enemies. They left him very near upon an equality with his foes. His conquests in Saxony were equivalent to his losses in the Netherlands. Though he had fought seven bloody campaigns, with the Austrians, Russians, Swedes, Imperialists, &c. the King of Prussia maintained the superiority. He had often risen like a phoenix out of the ashes, in which the world often thought he

was consuming: and at this conclusion he became more formidable than ever, and more the astonishment of mankind; and found himself in a condition to exact terms of a glorious and advantageous peace.

A. D.
1762.

Presently after the victory obtained by Prince Henry of Prussia, over the Imperial and Austrian army in Saxony, a strong detachment of Prussians, under the command of General Kleist, made an irruption into Bohemia, where they raised contributions, almost to the very gates of Prague, and destroyed several Austrian magazines, particularly at Saatz, which was valued at 900,000 florins, after having made the garrison of 500 men prisoners of war.

In this situation his Majesty proposed a suspension of arms to the court of Vienna, between their respective armies in Saxony and Glatz, during the winter. The proposal was received with joy, and immediately agreed to. But what was the event? He that was not to be beaten by their arms, was too subtle for the Austrian court in his politics. Having tied down the Austrian army, his Prussian Majesty detached a large body of troops, under General Kleist, into Franconia and other states, where they exacted heavy contributions, and spread terror and alarm throughout the whole empire. They demanded 3,000,000 of crowns at Neuremberg*, and, in proportion, at other places: they provided themselves with all

King of Prussia's proposal for a cessation of arms accepted by the Austrians.

He overruns Franconia, &c.

* Besides which, they carried off from thence 12 fine brass cannon, and six waggons loaded with arms and warlike stores.

neces-

A. D.
1762.

necessaries, of which they stood in need ; and raised a great number of recruits. In the mean time, the Imperial and Austrian Generals could not assemble their troops, dispersed into winter quarters ; nor march to protect the Empire, until they got fresh orders from Vienna.

Even the city of Ratisbon itself began to apprehend a visit, and therefore applied to Baron Plotho, the Prussian minister at the diet, to know from him what they had to expect, who frankly told them, that if they refused to pay the contribution, that his master's troops should demand, when they came to pay them a visit, they must expect to be compelled by force ; but he had, before the Prussians entered Franconia, declared to the diet in substance as follows :

His minister's declaration to the diet.

“ That all his master's declarations to the states of the Empire had produced no effect, he was now resolved to employ more effectual means to make them recall their troops from the Austrian army ; and was accordingly marching three different corps into the Empire ; one of which had already entered Franconia, the second was taking the rout of Swabia ; and the third would pass through Bavaria ; that they would every where conduct themselves according to the exigencies of war : but as to the diet of the Empire, the Baron de Plotho added, that he had orders to give assurance, that it should not be in the least disturbed.”

Its effect upon the Princes of the Empire.

This declaration had such an effect upon the Princes of the Empire, especially those who were most

most exposed to the rout of his armies, that some A. D. 1762. of them, in order to save their estates from the scourge of war, immediately proposed a neutrality, They agreed upon a neutrality. and recalled their troops : and in a little time, all the troops which composed the army of the Empire, began their march for the countries of their respective sovereigns : the House of Austria was left stripped of every ally, and left naked and single to oppose the King of Prussia, whose armies were grown more alert and vigorous than ever ; and daily augmenting with the disbanded troops of the neutral states. Thus the balance of power was now so evidently in the scale of Prussia : and the Prussian hero had gained the superiority over his inveterate enemy without the assistance, subsidy or mediation of any ally ; and preserved it with such wisdom and good policy, that Austria was glad to accept of a peace on his terms ; not entrusted to the sublime wisdom of negotiators ; but a peace dictated by himself, and ratified with his sword in hand.

In

These were the principal articles :

II. Every thing that has past on either side during the war, shall be buried in a general and eternal oblivion.

III. Both parties renounce all claims on each other's dominions or territories (particularly the Empress Queen renounces all claim to those which were ceded to the King of Prussia by the preliminary articles of Breslau, and the treaty of Berlin) and also all indemnification for damages suffered during the last war.

IV. All hostilities shall cease in all parts from the day of signing this treaty.

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V. In

A. D.
1762.

In the course of this year, we meet with several actions at sea, that adorn the annals of our country.

V. In one and twenty days after the ratifications of this treaty are exchanged, the Empress Queen shall recall her troops from all parts of Germany that do not belong to her, and evacuate and restore to the King of Prussia the county of Glatz, and in general, all places which he possessed before the war, in Silesia, or elsewhere, and which have been occupied by the troops of the Empress Queen, or those of her allies; the fortresses of Glatz, Wesel, or Gueldres, shall be restored in the condition they were in with regard to the fortifications (with the artillery) when taken. In the same space of time the King of Prussia shall restore all places belonging to the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, agreeable to the treaty concluded this day with that prince.

VI. All contributions of what kind soever, all deliveries whatsoever shall cease on the signing the treaty; no arrears of any kind shall be demanded; all bills of exchange or other obligations in writing, shall be void; all hostages shall be immediately set at liberty without ransom.

VII. All prisoners of war, of whatever rank, shall be immediately restored without ransom, on payment of the debts they may have contracted in their captivity. The States of the Empire shall be included in this article.

VIII. The subjects of either party forced to enter into the service of the other, shall be discharged.

IX. The Empress Queen shall return all the deeds, writings, and letters belonging to the places restored to the King of Prussia.

X. The inhabitants of the county and city of Glatz shall be at liberty to remove with their effects, in two years, without paying any duty.

XI. The King of Prussia shall confirm the nomination made by the Empress Queen during the war to vacant benefices, and to places in the excise, in the duchies of Cleves and Gueldres.

XII. The

try. We had now to deal with two maritime powers. There was a particular sharp look out for Spanish bottoms : they had most to lose. On the 7th of March, his Majesty's ship Milford fell in with a Spanish letter of marque, loaded with wine, flour, brandy, bale goods, &c. from Passage to St. Domingo ; and armed with 16 six pounders, 10 swivels, and 94 men ; had been a privateer of Bayonne, and pierced for 20 guns. The engagement was hot and desperate. At the beginning Captain Man, of the Milford, had his right thigh shot through, by a six pounder, of which he died in about 16 hours. Mr. Day, the first lieutenant, took the command, and fought bravely ; but was also cut off by a musket-shot in the middle of his forehead ; which made him delirious ; but he did not depart life till three days after. The defence of the King's ship then devolved on Lieutenant Nash, who, from half an hour past eleven at noon, maintained the fight till three in the morning. At half an hour past two this officer received several slight wounds in his face and hands, by wad and splinters that flew

A. D.
1762.By the
Milford.

XII. The preliminaries of Breslau, June 11, 1742, the treaty of Berlin, July 28, 1742, the *cesses* of the limits of 1742, the treaty of Dresden, December 28, 1745, where they are not derogated from by this treaty, are renewed and confirmed.

XVI. The two powers mutually guaranty the whole of each other's dominions ; those belonging to the Empress Queen out of Germany excepted.

XXI. The ratifications of this treaty shall be exchanged at Hubertsbourgh, in 15 days, or sooner.

A. D. about. But the enemy having, about half an
1762. hour after, lost her main and mizen-mast, and
fore-top mast, six men killed, and 18, some of
them dangerously, wounded, struck. Neither was
the Milford in much better plight. For immediately
after the enemy struck, her main and mizen
masts went close by the board, with all thereunto
belonging, her stays and rigging being all shot
away. Though she had but one private man and
a boy killed, and only 13 wounded.

By the
Fowey.

His Majesty's ship Fowey, of 24 guns, nine
pounders, and only 135 men, Captain Joseph
Mead, commander, fell in with the *la Ventura*,
a Spanish frigate of 26 guns, 12 pounders, and
300 men, off Cape Tiberone, bound for the
Havanna, from whence she had been sent with
money to pay the King's troops at Porto Rico
and St. Domingo. These frigates engaged about
seven leagues from the Cape, and pelted each
other most smartly, for an hour and half: when
their damages obliged each to sheer off and repair.
This done, Captain Mead, at ten at night, bore
down a second time upon her; but after exchanging
a broadside or two, it being too dark to form
a satisfactory judgment of her motion and distance,
he made sail to windward, keeping a proper look
out, that he might not lose her, and be able to
renew the attack, with advantage, by day light.
Accordingly in the dawn of the morning, the
Fowey, having the men at their quarters, ran
up as close to the *Ventura* as possible she could,
without falling on board of her; when the en-
gagement

agement was renewed for the third time, and A. D. 1762.
lasted with extraordinary courage and conduct on both sides, till half an hour past eight, when the Spanish frigate, having received several shot between wind and water, and reduced almost to a wreck, and lost between 40 and 50 men killed, struck her colours. And certainly, we have not met with such a scene during this war. Both ships were so disabled, that neither of them had a boat that would swim, or tackles left to hoist one out with. Captain Mead * contrived, by nailing a tarpaulin over the shot holes of a small boat, to bring the captains of the enemy's ship and soldiers, and six more officers, on board the Fowey. In this action the Fowey lost 10 men killed, and had 24 wounded, two of whom died. This ship had the misfortune to have a master, who got drunk, and could not assist the captain : and the gunner happened to be wounded in the beginning of the engagement ; and a lieutenant and 24 private men were on shore. So that under all these disadvantages, the capture of so strong a frigate, may be justly reckoned amongst the gallant actions of this war,

* Mr. Mead, when he was an inferior officer, served under Mr. Mostyn, and was the inventor of a machine for cleaning a ship's bottom at sea, known by the sailors by the name of Mead's Hoy. He was honoured with the command of the Crown fireship, in which he gave repeated proofs of his diligence, activity, and conduct : and he is the author of a treatise, intitled, *An Essay on Currents at Sea* ; for which he received the thanks of the lords of the admiralty.

A. D.
1762.

By the
Huffar
frigate.

Soon after ^h this wreck was carried into Port Royal in Jamaica, the Huffar frigate, Captain Carket, attacked four ships, lying under a fort in Tiberone bay; one of which, carrying sixteen guns, the Huffarⁱ burnt: sunk another of 14 guns, cut out one of 16, and another of 12 guns, laden with flour and indico, and carried them into Jamaica also, with the loss of only one man killed, and twelve wounded. Whereas the French had seventeen killed and thirty-five wounded. But most of the crews of the enemy's ships escaped a-shore in their boats, during the engagement.

By the
Active
and Fa-
vourite.

On the 21st of May the Active frigate, Captain Sawyer, and the Favourite sloop, Captain Pownal, had the good fortune to fall in with and take, off Cape St. Vincent, the Hermione, a Spanish register ship, of 28 guns, bound from Lima to Cadiz, and carried her into Gibraltar, without much resistance; the Spaniards not being informed of the declaration of war between Great Britain and Spain. This ship had on board 2,600,000 hard dollars, registered for the court of Madrid: and her whole cargo was of an immense value, which was conducted to the metropolis, from Portsmouth, by land, and by a grand cavalcade of twenty waggons, &c.

^h The third of April.

ⁱ In the May following this frigate, upon a cruize off Hispaniola, struck upon the shore and was lost. Three men were drowned. The captain, and the rest of the crew, were made prisoners.

The

The spirit of resentment in the English, and the weakness of our Spanish enemy, were also evident in an action performed by the Brilliant, Captain Crichton, and the Duke of York privateers. They entered a small port near Cape Finisterre, defended by a battery of four guns at the entrance; and in two hours time, beat the Spaniards out of the fort, hoisted English colours in it, and spiked up the guns; might have laid all the whole town in ashes, but were content with burning two ships, that laid there in ballast, and bringing off four, that were loaded with wine for the Spanish fleet at Ferrol; which they carried away for Lisbon; with no other damage than two men killed and twelve wounded.

A. D.
1762.

By the
Brilliant
and Duke
of York
privateers

The Hampden packet, of eight carriage guns and thirty men, Captain Broad, stationed between Faro and Gibraltar, was attacked by eleven privateers off Teneriff, which came down in order of battle; the commodore was a barcalongo of eight guns and sixty men; the second was a xebec, of the same number of guns and men: those two led the van: five of a lesser size followed a little a stern of the commodore: the other four carrying thirty men each, with one gun in the prow, brought up the rear. The engagement began, in the sight of Gibraltar, at eleven o'clock, and continued till half past one, when that mighty squadron, having spit as much fire as they chose, hauled their wind, returned from whence they came, and permitted the Hampden to proceed to Gibraltar, where she arrived about three o'clock,

By the
Hampden
packet.

A. D. 1762 without one man either killed or wounded^k. But her sails and rigging were greatly damaged. This was a gallant action. How the brave Captain was rewarded we are not informed : but Captain Borell, of the Harriot packet-boat, was promoted to a Lisbon packet, and presented with 100 guineas, for his gallant behaviour in his engagement with a French privateer, of much superior force both in men and guns, in his passage from New York : which he repulsed twice, and got clear at last.

By the
Harriot
packet.

By the
K. George
privateer.

The King George privateer, of 26 nine pounders and 130 men, Captain Reid, who had given former proofs^l of his service against the enemy, attacked the Tyger frigate, Captain Fabre, of 26 nine pounders and 240 men, valued at near three millions of livres, from St. Domingo to Bourdeaux ; and took her after an engagement of two hours and a half ; in which he lost three men killed, and had thirty-two wounded : the Tyger had eighty men killed and wounded.

Privateers
and arm-
ed mer-
chantmen
taken.

No doubt, but there were many others, both men of war, privateers, and letters of marque, and armed merchantmen, who deserved our commendation, amongst the number of captors, who, in the course of this year, fought and took 120 considerable privateers and armed merchantmen^m, carry-

^k The Spaniards had four killed and eight wounded.

^l See Vol. V p. 272.

^m Amongst those was the Perlu, Catalana de Barcelona, from Spain to St. Domingo, supposed to have had 100,000 hard

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1762.

carrying 844 guns, besides swivels, and 5000 men and upwards; but their omission must be ascribed to the want of proper information and intelligence of the respective facts, and not to any design to stifle merit, or want of good-will to do due honour to the glorious actions of our brave naval officers. As for the other captures, they were not on either side, very considerable. The Spaniards had no fleet at sea, nor cruizers, nor privateers, that were in a condition to intercept our trade; and the French privateers met with so many miscarriages, and rough treatment from our frigates, that greatly deterred them from risking their property and lives under such uncertain and dangerous circumstances: and though our loss, as to numbers, was greater than both the French and Spaniards put together, we had the advantage of the balance in point of the value of the prizes. As for the Spanish men of war only, we have taken in this short rupture no less than 12 ships of the line and four frigates, from Spain: and if we compute the full loss of the French navy during the whole war, we shall find it amounts to 37 ships of the line, and 55 frigates^a. All this with the loss of two English frigates taken,

hard dollars on board; and to be the first ship taken from the Spaniards after the declaration of war, *Le Villevean* with 4000 bales of coffee. *L'Etoile de la mer*, a Spanish register ship, worth 200,000 piastres, at 3s. 7d. the piastre.

^a 18 ships of the line and 36 frigates taken.

14 ships of the line and 13 frigates destroyed.

5 ships of the line and 6 frigates lost by accident.

A. D. 1762. three destroyed, and 13 ships of the line and 14 frigates lost by accident.

Spirit of
privateer-
ing reviv-
ed.

Expedi-
tions de-
signed a-
gainst the
Spanish
settle-
ments.

The
strength
of our
armament
against
Manilla.

The Spanish war revived the spirit of privateering, which had flagged for some time in England, there being very little chance to make it worth while against an enemy, that had scarce any thing to lose by sea. It was thought there might be found good pickings in the Spanish trade; and that it might be worth while to attempt some of their magazines of treasure in America. Several ships were fitted out upon these principles. Expeditions were undertaken against the Manillas, and Buenos Ayres. The former was undertaken on a national plan, supported by a squadron of men of war and regular forces. The other was fitted out upon the private risk of several merchants and gentlemen in London.

The troops allotted for the enterprize against Manilla were the 79th regiment, and a company of the royal artillery. To which the government at Madras added, by way of auxiliaries, 30 of their artillery, 600 Sepoys, a company of caffrees, one of topazes, and one of pioneers: to which they added two companies of Frenchmen, who had enlisted in their service, and some hundreds of unarmed Lascars, for the use of the engineers and park of artillery, under the command of General Draper. Rear Admiral Cornish reinforced this little army with a fine battalion of 550 seamen, and 270 good marines. So that the whole land forces amounted to 2300 men; who were embarked, with their necessary stores, on board his Majesty's

Majesty's ships of war, and two East India ships employed as transports, with an activity and dispatch, that did great honour to all concerned in those arrangements. For the preparations were begun, compleated and shipped in three weeks, through a raging and perpetual surff; though not without the loss of some lives.

The Seahorse, Captain Grant, was previously dispatched through the streights of Malacca, to the entrance of the China seas, to intercept all ships bound with advice to Manilla; and Captain Tiddyman sailed with the first division^o of the fleet and troops, under Colonel Monson, on the 30th of July, with orders to rendezvous at Malacca, where the fleet intended to complete their watering. The Admiral's division sailed from Madras on the 1st of August^p, and arrived at Malacca on the 19th; where he bought a large quantity of rattans to make gabions, and sailed on the 27th^q with orders for a second rendezvous off the island of Timon^r. From whence the

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1762.

The expedition
sails from
Madras.

Arrive off
Manilla.

^o The Elizabeth, Grafton, Lenox, Weymouth and Argo.

^p Being obliged to wait for Captain Tiddyman, who, having been becalmed, did not reach this place of rendezvous till the 21st.

^q With the Norfolk, Panther, America, Seaford; South Sea Castle, storeship, Admiral Stevens storeship, and the Osterley, a company's ship: the Falmouth being left to convoy the Essex Indiaman, which was not ready to sail with the treasure for the China cargoes, and ordered to bring to Manilla such of the company's servants as were to be put in possession of that government, in case of success.

^r Where Capt. Grant joined the fleet on the 2d of Sept.

whole

A. D. 1762. whole armament, having received the necessary signals and instructions for landing on the coast of Luconia, proceeded together, and anchored off the Fort of Cavite, with the whole squadron, except the South Sea Castle; the Admiral Stevens, Falmouth and Essex, having joined them off the coast on the 23d of September, before the Spaniards were prepared for defence, or had received advice of the rupture between England and Spain.

This determined the Admiral and principal officers to take advantage of the visible confusion and consternation of the enemy. Accordingly in the morning of the 24th, an effectual summons was sent to the town, and the coast being explored, a very convenient place, about two miles to the south of Manilla, was found for landing the troops; which was effected, under the cover of the fire from the frigates, about seven in the evening, without any opposition from the enemy; who were dispersed and driven from the shore by our cannon. But though the coast was cleared, there arose such a violent surf, that many of our boats were dashed to-pieces, and the arms and ammunition were much damaged, but not a life was lost.

The troops immediately formed upon the beach; marched and took possession of the village and church of Malata, fixed their out-posts, and kept all night under arms. Next morning they seized upon the Polverista fort, which the Spaniards had abandoned, and an excellent post to cover the landing of stores, and to secure a communication with the ships. And Colonel Monson with

The town
summon-
ed.

Troops
landed.

Form up-
on the
beach.

Seize up-
on several
posts.

with only 200 men, occupied the Hermita Church, A. D. 1762. situated about 900 yards from the city; which, both for its strength, and the covering it afforded from the heavy rains, that had already set in with the monsoon, proved extremely serviceable to the army. Heavy rains prevented their encampment.

Could they have pushed forward immediately, it is probable the work would have been very short with Manilla. But the surf was so dangerous, and the rains increased so much, that it was impossible to land the artillery and stores without the utmost hazard, and without them there was no proceeding. Even the remaining troops were got ashore with great difficulty, and not without the loss of some lives, among whom was Lieutenant Hardwick. Dangerous surf prevented the landing of artillery, &c.

The Spaniards were not ignorant of those impediments to the operation of their enemy: and the impossibility of encamping the army, having obliged the troops to take shelter from the rains, much nearer the walls than the rules of war prescribed, they disturbed the English quarters with a cannonade; but not with that effect and perseverance, as to dislodge them; though they wounded and killed some of our men. Cannonades from the town.

These difficulties rather animated, than dispirited our men. The sailors could not look on with indifference at such a critical juncture; but with a courage and activity, for which they are distinguished on all occasions, they braved all difficulties, and supplied the wants of the army; completed the landing of the Sepoys, and of such stores. The resolute conduct of the English.

A. D. stores as were, by signals, demanded from the 1762. squadron.

Seize up-
on St.
Jago's
church.

Attacked
there by
400 Spa-
niards.

Spaniards
repulsed.

Town
summon-
ed a se-
cond time

Strength
and con-
dition of
the city
and gar-
rison.

The next step was to get possession of St. Jago's church, about 300 yards from the town, and near the sea. This approach, so near to the bastions of the city, provoked the Spaniards to try some part of our strength; and 400 men, under the command of Chevalier Fayett, with two field pieces, were detached to a church, about 200 yards to the right of St. Jago's, to cannonade that post. But they were soon driven back into the town, by a detachment of Sepoys, seamen and regulars, under Colonel Monson, who pursued them so briskly up to the very walls, that they left one of their field pieces upon the glacis.

This behaviour prompted the general to summons the governor, who was the archbishop, a second time; but his answer was more spirited than the conduct of the detachment had been. He certainly had good encouragement to hold out. The front to be attacked was defended by two bastions, with orillons and retired flanks, a ravelin, which covered the royal gate, a wet ditch and glacis. The bastions were in excellent order, lined with a great number of fine brass cannon. He was certified of the small number of forces, with which he had to contend, and that they were not sufficient to invest the city. He could always keep two sides open, to introduce supplies of men and provisions, and at the last extremity, to carry off their effects. His garrison consisted of 800 men of the royal regiment, under the command of the

Mar-

Marquis of Villa Mediana, and was augmented by a body of 10,000 Indians, a fierce and barbarous people, from the province of Pampanga: and what seemed to be his greatest dependance; the governor hoped, that the intemperature of the season, could he prolong the time, would inevitably destroy the English forces, or oblige their squadron to quit the coast; in the mean time, sensible that it was not practicable for the besiegers to make their approaches in form, either with their number of forces, or in a ground, that would admit of no regular operations, the land being deluged by the heavy rains, that continued pouring down continually, and obliged the English to seek for shelter, and means of attacking the city, from churches and houses, contrary from all rules of the military profession, he declared his resolution to defend the place to the last extremity.

However, the commanders in this expedition were not discouraged. They entertained a very mean and just opinion of the abilities, diligence and courage of the garrison: and, having a perfect view of the enemy's works from the top of St. Jago's church, they found that the ravelin was not armed; the covered way out of repair; the glacis by much too low; the ditch not produced round the capital of the bastion of St. Diego, and the ditch, where it was produced, was not above 30 feet wide and five feet deep; which our men were permitted to sound, by the negligence and omission of the enemy to post centries in the covered way. In which perilous service, executed by

A. D.
1762.Perseverance of
the English.

Their advantages.

A. D. 1762. by a small party of the 79th regiment, under Captain Fletcher, at their own request, there were only three killed and wounded by the fire from the bastion.

Batteries opened. These discoveries, and the difficulties they had to undergo in a state of inactivity, increased the ardour of our troops, who laboured incessantly in making fascines and gabions, and preparing every necessary for the erecting and opening their batteries: and one for small shells was completed behind the church, in the night on the 26th, and played on the bastion of St. Diego.

Assisted by the squadron. In the mean time the admiral dispatched three armed boats after a galley coming up the bay to Manilla, that mounted two carriage and seventeen brass swivel guns, and had eighty men. The boats came up with her, and resolutely boarded her and took her, in the midst of a smart fire of pattararoes and muskets. This galley was dispatched from the galleon St. Philipina, from Acapulco, and then at Cajayagan, between the Embocaderos and Cape Spiritu Santo. In quest of which the admiral resolved to send the Panther and Argo.

Flag of truce from the governor. In this galley was taken prisoner the nephew of the governor of Manilla, charged with dispatches to notify the war, &c. which being made known to the governor, his Excellency sent out a flag of truce, on the 27th in the morning, requesting that his nephew might be sent a-shore: and at the same

* On the 10th of September.

time

time apologizing for some barbarities committed by the savages, who had murdered some straggling seamen. A. D. 1762.

The governor's nephew was landed on the 28th, and Lieutenant Fryar, secretary to the general, was ordered to conduct him, with great politeness, into the city with a flag of truce. Lieutenant Fryar advanced from the shore by way of the second post, to the ravelin gate, and was attacked by a large party of the garrison, mixed with barbarians, detached to attack the second post; and the barbarians, without respecting the character of the officer, at the head of a flag of truce, inhumanly murdered Lieutenant Fryar, mangled his body in a manner too shocking to mention, and mortally wounded the gentleman that endeavoured to save Mr. Fryar. They then attacked the post, but were received with much firmness and bravery, and repulsed, not without some marks of resentment for their barbarous treatment of Lieutenant Fryar; for our men shewed them no mercy, that could not flee fast enough out of their reach. Lieutenant Fryar, with a flag of truce murdered.

The bombardment continued day and night from our batteries; and two ships, the Elizabeth and Falmouth, were stationed as near the town as the depth of water would permit, to second the operations on shore. A new battery for eight 24 pounders, named the Admiral Cornish, was erected, but with great difficulty. The violence of the rains stopt its progress; and other inconveniences arose from the absence of two ships, A post bravely defended.

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D d

that Rains continue.

A. D. 1762. that had on board a considerable quantity of fascines, and many of the working and entrenching tools. But this deficiency was supplied by the Admiral's goodness, and the diligence of the sailors. All the smiths and carpenters, found on board the fleet, joined and provided spades, pick-axes, wheel-barrows, and all instruments for their purpose.

Storm of
wind.

But this was the least of their trouble. They could, in some measure, provide against disappointments, and brave the difficulties in the progress of their operations; but it was above their diligence, industry, courage and knowledge to resist, or to moderate the inclemency of the element.

The squadron
driven off the
coast.

On the first of October the weather grew so very tempestuous, that the whole squadron was in danger, and all communication with it entirely cut off. It is certain that the situation of our army, on this occasion, was very precarious. The elements seemed in combination for its destruction. The archbishop, the governor, took advantage of these appearances, and with a pious fraud endeavoured to keep up the spirits of his people; affirming, "That he had seen the angel of the Lord, sent forth from the Almighty, to destroy the army of the hereticks before their city, like the host of Sennacarib." But how were they deceived!

The governor's
pious
fraud to
spirit up
the people.

A providential
station of
a store-
ship.

The very storm, in which they put so much confidence to destroy the besiegers, threw the South-sea-castle store-ship, lately arrived, into such a convenient situation upon the shore, that, without its guns, it would have been impossible to scour the

the coast to the southward, where the Indians threatened the Polverista and the magazines at the Malata. Which posts were now secured by her guns: and this position enabled her to land her military stores with safety and dispatch; and to supply the army with provisions: both which articles were immediately wanted, and could not have been, for many days, supplied by boats, on account of the surf breaking very high on the beach. This providential assistance, which was more than the art of man could have brought bear, kept up the spirits of the small distressed army, who, in defiance of the wind and deluge of rain, completed the battery for the 24 pounders, raised a mortar battery for shells of ten and thirteen inches, made a good parallel and communication from the church to the gun-battery, and established a spacious place of arms on the left of it near the sea; without any interruption from the town; who indulged themselves with the presumption, that heaven would destroy the English, and that they themselves should have no more to do, than march out at leisure, and seize upon their weapons and magazines.

The batteries being all completed and mounted, and the weather become more moderate, the battery against the left face of the bastion of St. Diego, towards the salient angle, was opened at day light, under the direction of Major Barker: and the cannon were served with such justness, quickness and dexterity, that in a few hours the Spaniards were driven from their guns, and the twelve

A. D.
1762.The
works
to continue.Batteries
all com-
plete.Opened
with suc-
cess.

A. D.
1762.

guns on the face of the bastion were silenced ; with the loss of only two of our men killed : and the mortars were kept continually playing on the gorge of the bastion, and the contiguous defences.

This convinced them that there was no truth in the governor's prophecy ; and that other means than a dependence upon the saints and angels were to be employed, to deliver them from the hands of the English ; who gave them no time to repair their embrasures and carriages in the night.

A strong
ally.

Therefore it was resolved to make two powerful sallies in the night of the 4th. About three hours before day 1000 Indians attacked a post defended by a party of seamen ; depending much upon the heavy rains, which they imagined would render fire arms useless ; and upon their knowledge of the ground, being able to penetrate through a thicket of bushes, to secret their design and approach from the patrols. But they were disappointed : the seamen very sensibly kept firm in their posts, and were content to repulse the Indians till day-break ; when they were relieved by the piquets, under Colonel Monson and Captain Fletcher ; and

Defeated.

the Indians being attacked by a piquet of the 79th regiment, on their right flank, they fled, were pursued, and dispersed with the loss of 300 men left dead on the ground. " Had their skill and

The def-
erate be-
haviour
of the e-
nemy.

" weapons, (says General Draper, in his account of this action,) been equal to their strength and ferocity, it might have cost us dear. Although armed chiefly with bows, arrows, and lances, they advanced up to the very muzzles of our

" pieces,

“pieces, repeated their assaults, and died like wild
 “beasts, knowing their bayonets.”

A. D.
 1762.

This affair was scarce finished, before another body of Indians, with part of the Spanish garrison, attacked the church No. 2. or our second post. They dislodged the Sepoys from their post nearest the town, and got possession of the top. From whence they killed and wounded several of our men, entirely exposed to all their weapons. But the European foldiers maintained their post behind the church with great firmness and patience; and being relieved by Major Fell, field officer of the day, and by Capt. Fletcher and other brave officers, with some field pieces, they at last dislodged the enemy, who left 70 dead behind them; having killed and wounded 40 of our private men, and mortally wounded Captain Strahan of the 79th regiment. This was their last effort. For the Indians discouraged by their losses, all except 1800, returned home.

Defeated!

The In-
 dians
 leave the
 Spaniards

The working parties, and the fire from the batteries, which had been somewhat interrupted by those attacks, were recommenced with more vigour than before. And on the 5th Major Barker's fire made a practicable breach: and the guns on the Orillon of St. Andrew were silenced by our three gun battery. It was expected that the Spaniards would have been disposed by their danger, to give up the town. But they were obstinate without bravery, or any generous resolution of defending the town. Therefore it was resolved, and

A breach
 effected.

A. D.
1762.

The at-
tack in
breach.

How it
succeeded

A capitu-
lation
granted.

necessary preparations were made, to storm the place.

On the 6th at four in the morning, the whole army marched in small bodies to prevent suspicion, and assembled again with the utmost silence, concealing themselves, in the place of arms, and in the parallel between the church and the battery. At day break a large body of Spaniards formed on the bastion of St. Andrew : but they soon dispersed by a few shells, that fell amongst them. The way thus opened and cleared, the signal for the attack was immediately given, by a general discharge of the artillery and mortars : and the assailants rushed on to the assault, under cover of a thick smoke that blew directly upon the town. They all mounted the breach with amazing spirit and rapidity. The few Spaniards upon the bastion fled without resistance : nor did they meet with any afterwards, except at the royal gate, and from the galleries of the lofty houses in the square. A hundred Indians and Spaniards, in the guard house over the royal gate refusing to surrender, were put to the sword. Three hundred were drowned in attempting to cross the river. The governor and principal officers, being retired into the citadel, were obliged to stoop to a capitulation ; by which they surrendered prisoners at discretion. The Marquis of Villa Mediana, and the rest of the Spanish officers, were favoured with their paroles of honour ; and all the Indians that fell into our hands were dismissed in safety, in order to conciliate the affections of the natives. By the

capi-

capitulation it was agreed, That the town and fort ^{A.D. 1762.} of Cavite, with the islands and forts dependant on Manilla, should be given up to his Britannic Majesty; and that 4,000,000 of dollars should be paid for the preservation of the town, and their effects. Our whole loss in this expedition did not exceed 36 killed, and 105 wounded. But had it cost us ever so much blood, this rich and important settlement, by which the Spanish trade, and riches brought from the South Seas, might have been always controuled by Great Britain, was predestinated to fall a sacrifice of peace offering, almost as soon as it was conquered; and was given up to the Spaniards before its real fate was known in Europe.

Thus, in one year, Great Britain locked up all ^{Remarks.} the passages of the Spanish treasure, and deprived Spain of the means of conveying the produce of her mines in America, to support schemes for the disturbance of the peace of Europe: and under a false notion of moderation and love of peace, gave back to his Catholic Majesty those places, without which he could not continue the war, and with which his pride and inveteracy against England, and his connections with France, will never let him slip any opportunity to break the peace, to the mutual advantage of the house of Bourbon.

The expedition undertaken by the proprietors ^{Expedi-} of the Lord Clive * and Ambuscade † privateers, ^{tion a-} was well contrived; and they were not only well ^{gainst} fitted out, both for men and stores, at home; but ^{Buenos} they met at Lisbon with great encouragement and ^{Ayres.}

* Captain M'Namara.

† Captain Roberts.

A. D. 1762. assistance from the King * of Portugal ; who commanded his governors and officers wherever they touched, to aid and assist them to the utmost of their power, for the annoyance of the common enemy, and in particular to reduce the Spanish settlements in the Rio de la Plata. By this means, Capt. M'Namara, a brave man, and a man of fortune, many years a captain in the East India company's service, and a large adventurer in this expedition, was the commodore, and invested with sufficient power to treat with the King of Portugal, and to carry it into execution. In consequence of this agreement with his Portuguese Majesty, these privateers were well supplied, and reinforced both with ships and men at the Brasils : but when he had weathered all the dangers of the sea, and had brought his whole force before Nova Colona in the River Plata, the place of their destination, with the greatest probability of success, the prey was snatched out of his hands : he was defeated in his enterprize, he was disabled, and lost his ship and his own life, amongst many of his brave companions ; not by the superiority of the enemy, nor by shipwreck ; but by a latent fire within his own ship : by which she was blown up, and an end was put to an expedition, which, in case the war continued, might have contributed in many respects to distress our enemies ; and to recover St. Sacramento † for our good ally the King of Portugal ;

How it
failed.

* His Majesty gave the Officers Portuguese Commissions.

† Which had just before been traiterously sold to the Spaniards by Count Bobadella, Vice Roy or governor for his Portuguese Majesty at Rio Janeiro in the Brazils.

which

which the Spaniards had surprized but a little before the arrival of this little private squadron. ^{A. D. 1762.}
This finished our hostilities in the new world.

The only remaining object of war in the course ^{War in} of the summer 1762, were the operations of our ^{Portugal} army, as auxiliaries to the King of Portugal. The ^{continued} Spaniards and Portugueze had encamped during the noxious heats, which in that country are very prejudicial to health during the summer months. But the British troops, who arrived late, took the field in July, without any regard to the intemperature of the climate, or to their health and lives. The Spaniards resumed their operations in the field in August, and reduced the city of Almeida in the short space of nine days; and the garrison, consisting of 2500 men, were made prisoners, on condition of not serving against Spain for six months. After this the Spanish army was put under the command of the Count de Aranda, who left a garrison at that place, and at Castel Rodrigo, and took the rout, by Alfayates, to Castel Branco. In the mean time Count de Lippe detached Brigadier Burgoyne to divert the progress of the enemy towards the capital. The brigadier, according to his instructions, passed the Tajo at ^{Brigadier General} midnight, on the 23d of August, with 400 of ^{Burgoyne's activity.} Burgoyne's regiment, and joined, at the appointed rendezvous, a detachment of all the British grenadiers, eleven companies of Portugueze grenadiers, two pieces of light cannon, and two howitzers: and together, with long marches, great judgment and fatigue, arrived at Castel de Vida, where he was joined by 100 regular foot, 58 irregular

A. D. 1762. regular cavalry, and about 40 armed peasants; and regulated his final disposition. The brigadier marched forward in the night of the 25th, expecting to surprize Alcantra before day; but his guides deceived him, in regard to the distance. So that finding the light came on, an hour before he could reach that town, he pushed forward with the dragoons only, met with no molestation; and the advanced guard finding the entrance clear, they pushed into the town sword in hand, and with that vigour and determination, that the guards in the square were all killed or made prisoners, before they could use their arms; and the ends of the streets were possessed with very little resistance. A few desperate parties rallied, and attempted an attack; but they all perished, or were taken. The only firing that remained was in single shot from windows: but the grenadiers being arrived, and the brigadier having threatened the town with fire and sword, unless their windows and doors were instantly thrown open, all became immediately quiet. A serjeant was detached with six dragoons only, to reconnoitre the country, who falling in with 25 Spanish dragoons, unbroken and prepared to receive them, killed six of them, and brought the rest, and every horse of the party prisoners to their head quarters. The brigadier did not meet with the magazines, as reported; but he raised a contribution for sparing the convent and the town, destroyed a great quantity of arms and ammunition, brought away as many as he was able, and took a major general, his aid de camp, one

one colonel and his adjutant, two captains and 17 subalterns, 59 private, and three colours^t.

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This action did honour to the brigadier and his party; but it was not attended with any real advantage to Portugal. The Spaniards pushed forward towards the capital. Neither durst the Count de Lippe Buckeburg risque a battle; in which the crown of Portugal must have been put to the stake: for, there was no resource in case of a defeat. On the contrary, the French were marching a considerable body of troops to reinforce the Spaniards. So that the King of Spain made himself sure of the conquest of Portugal. Therefore the most the count could propose was to pursue such measures, as ^{Cautious} might effectually cover the capital of the kingdom ^{conduct of} from any approach of the enemy. For which purpose ^{Count de} he was obliged to quit a strong camp at Ponte de Murcella in the Beira, and to return into Estremadura where he encamped at Abrantes, with orders to Lord Loudon to encamp, with the troops under his command, at Sardoal, a few leagues from ^{Situation} that place. The Count de Lippe did also guard ^{of the} every road and pass leading to Lisbon, in the best manner he was able, with his army. ^{forces.}

Brigadier-General Burgoyne was charged with the defence of the pass over the Tajo at Villa Velha, and took post on the south side of the river, facing that town, in order to prevent the enemy's forcing a passage over the Tajo. He encamped between Nissa and the Tajo, with part of his own

^t The English lost Lieutenant Bank, one serjeant, three private killed: two serjeants, one drummer, eighteen private wounded.

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1762.

Action at
Villa
Velha.

English,
&c. draw
back.

regiment, the royal volunteers and the English grenadiers. Another detachment of four battalions, six companies of grenadiers and a regiment of cavalry, all Portugueze under the command of the Count de St. Jago, occupied the pass of Alvito. To prevent their advancing through the mountains in their front, there was a considerable detachment posted at Perdrigal, and on his right, at Villa Velha, a Portuguese captain with 150 men. The pass of Alvito was represented to be impregnable: but, it certainly did not appear so in the hands of the Portugueze; neither was it thought so by the Spanish general. For, on the first of October, the Count de Maceda, with 6000 Spaniards, was placed over-against the troops under Count de St. Jago, and at once attacked the old moorish castle of Villa Velha on his right, and the small post commanded by a major at St. Simon, on his left. The castle, being covered by the fire of Brigadier Burgoyne from across the water, held out some time; but they routed the party at St. Simon, without much difficulty; by which means the Spaniards were in a condition to attack the Count de St. Jago, both in front and rear. This danger of that detachment made it necessary to draw them off; though it might be attended with much difficulty in the face of a much superior force. Count de Lippe having visited that post himself, most judiciously ordered the Earl of Loudon to march, with all possible dispatch, at the head of four English battalions, and four field pieces, to cover their retreat. Lord Loudon advanced with the greatest expedition, and

and encamped on the rear of the Count St. Jago. A. D. 1762.
 After the out-posts of Count St. Jago were withdrawn, and the works levelled, which had been thrown up for the defence of the pass, and might now have been employed against us, Lord Loudon, with the four British regiments, six companies of Portuguese grenadiers, fifty of Burgoyne's dragoons, and about as many Portuguese cavalry, remained upon the heights of Astalliardes, till the Portuguese infantry had filed off by the road of Sobrira Formosa. The enemy attacked the rear with several battalions; but Lord Loudon's presence, the activity of Major M'Bean, who cannonaded the enemy very briskly, and the admirable countenance of the British troops, who finding the enemy pressed hard, faced about, and marched up to them with great vivacity and good order, obliged the most forward of their battalions to retire, in a manner, not unlike a flight, and the whole column of ours continued their march unmolested, and without any loss, towards Cardigas.

The enemy, on account of these motions upon their right, having weakened the corps they still had near Villa Velha, Brigadier Burgoyne thought the opportunity favourable to attempt an attack against the troops and artillery they had left. He therefore ordered a detachment, composed of 100 British grenadiers, 200 of General Craufurd's regiment, and fifty light dragoons, led by the gallant Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, to ford the Tajo in the night of the 5th instant, and surprize the camp of cavalry near Villa Velha.

A second
 action by
 Brigadier
 Burgoyne

Colonel

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1762.

Colonel Lee got into the enemy's encampment without being perceived; but as some scattered and confused firing immediately began, it was impossible to prevent a considerable slaughter of the enemy in their tents. The grenadiers and royal volunteers attacked and pursued, upon a brisk run, with fixed bayonets, without firing a shot. A body of horse was the only part of the enemy that collected and made a stand. Lieutenant Maitland, at the head of the dragoons, charged and routed them with very considerable slaughter. Most of the Spanish officers, who exerted themselves to rally their troops, fell; among these was a brigadier-general.

Four cannon were spiked at the encampment; two had been removed; the magazines were burned; and the trophies brought off were about sixty artillery mules, some horses, a captain and two subalterns of horse, a subaltern of artillery, and a serjeant and fourteen private men, with a considerable quantity of valuable baggage.

Our loss in the whole affair was a corporal killed, and two men wounded; four horses killed, and six wounded. Many of the men had their helmets cut through, but without damage to themselves. Six of the royal volunteers wounded, and one grenadier missing.

Bad situa-
tion of the
Spaniards

The motions on this occasion were so judiciously conducted, that by drawing back his forces, the Count de Lippe brought the seat of war into a barren mountainous country, where the enemy could neither get forage nor provisions, nor avail themselves of their numbers, nor get off their cavalry, as they might have done in the open and fertile

fertile country of Alentajo. This scheme succeeded according to his most sanguine wish. The invaders were soon driven to many straits : and their wants compelled them to abate in their vigour, and to remain in their camp ; and before they could be joined by the French, the heavy autumnal rains put an entire stop to their progress.

The Portuguese army, and their British auxiliaries, gained time to post themselves in the most advantageous manner, and recruited both in spirits and numbers. Lord George Lenox was at Guarda. Colonel Hamilton at St. Vincente de Berra, with his regiment of light horse. Lieutenant-General Townsend at Pamphilhosa, upon the river Zizare. The Earl of Loudon, with four English regiments, at St. Domingo. Brigadier-General Burgoyne remained between Nissa and Villa Velha ; and M. Count de la Lippe removed to Sardoal. These dispositions and advantages delivered them from their fears of a junction of the French and Spaniards. Besides, the Spanish army was already reduced to the greatest hardships and difficulties for subsistence ; and as their necessities were not to be relieved in Portugal, nor from Spain, it is certain that every increase of numbers in their camp, would also increase the scarcity of provisions a forage, and discourage them from continuing in a country to starve, where every inch was to be disputed with the edge of the sword.

Such was the situation and condition of the bel-
ligerents in Portugal, when an argument was
raised

A. D.
1762

Advantages of the English, &c.

Peace in great forwardness.

A. D. 1762. raised from the distressed state of that country of our faithful ally, to influence the people into an acquiescence to those negociations, which the British ministry had already carried to a great length for a peace • to which the nation appeared in general to be very averse. As early as in the month of August matters were brought so forward that ambassadors were agreed and appointed to be sent from London to Paris and from Paris to London,

Duke of Bedford for settling the preliminary articles. The Duke of Bedford set forward on the 5th of September, on this embassy from London : and the Duke de Nivernois arrived at London from Paris on the 10th of the same month, brought over in the same yatch that carried over the Duke of Bedford.

A compliment to an enemy, on such an occasion, that conveyed a very disadvantageous opinion of the abilities and intentions of our peace-makers : and the French Duke found this civility, in the managers of this affair, to be extremely wide of the treatment he met with, on the road from Dover to London ; in which journey he was loaded with curses, and every thing was made as disagreeable as possible, by the country people, that disliked the errand on which he was come.

Preliminary articles precipitated.

This public treaty with France and Spain, (for his Catholic Majesty had agreed to make the determinations of the French ministry conclusive, as to his interest and demands) proceeded with such rapidity, as convinced every attentive observer, that the negociation had already advanced beyond a possibility of being broken off, or discontinued.

continued. For the preliminary articles, in the compiling, digesting and settling of which, so much wisdom was required to guard against the impositions, and double meaning of an enemy, that had always deceived us; and is never without a clause of some treaty, wrested to their own uses, for a justification of their hostilities; and to adjust and provide for the security of our national interest, against the intrigues and arms of a perfidious people; were hurried into a system, in less time, than would suffice to draw up, digest and settle some marriage articles, or conveyances of private property. In less than two months those preliminaries were signed by the ministers of Great Britain, France, Spain and Portugal. A precipitation, that deprived even those concerned, if they were desirous of information, of the means to obtain a true state of the importance of our conquests; so as to enable them to place a relative and real value upon our conquests, against the demands of our enemies.

In the month of October the State Empiricks had come to such resolutions, that they could not admit of any alteration. Some of the principal articles having perished, relating to concessions made on our part in the West Indies and North America, they spread such an alarm throughout the kingdom, that the people rose up like one man, in detestation and abhorrence of such conditions. The trading part of the kingdom were most sensibly affected, and proposed presenting memorials and petitions against those articles, and

A. D.
1762.

Memo-
rials on
this occa-
sion.

VOL. V.

E e

the

A. D. 1762. the towns of Liverpool and Lancaster did actually draw up theirs; but the secretary of state answered — That it was too late; though they pointed out some of the greatest advantages arising from our conquests, and demonstrated that those were too great and dangerous to be given up ^u.

The

^u To the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, &c. &c.

The memorial of the merchants of Liverpool trading to and in Africa and the West Indies, whose names are hereunto subscribed.

Humbly sheweth,

That the West-Indian and African trade is by far the largest branch of the great and extensive commerce of this town.

That this is also the most beneficial commerce, not only to themselves, but to the whole kingdom, as the export is chiefly of the manufactures of this kingdom, British ships and seamen solely employed, and the returns made in the produce of the colonies belonging to Great Britain.

Your memorialists further beg leave to represent to your lordship, that though they possessed this commerce in a very great and extensive manner before the reduction of Guadalupe and its dependencies, yet the possession of that island has increased their trade beyond all comparison with its former state, in the demand of British manufactures for slaves, and for the produce of that island (at foreign markets) purchased with British manufactures.

And your memorialists have all possible reason to believe and be assured, that in succeeding years this demand will be prodigiously increased, and in this hope your memorialists conceive they are well grounded from the single circumstance of that island not being yet more than half cultivated to reasonable, not to say possible, advantage.

That your memorialists, not presuming to trouble your lordship with a minute detail of their general export to Guadalupe,
submit

The clamour became general; when they ^{A. D. 1762.} heard that all the blessings, this nation flattered itself with the enjoyment of, from the ruin of the ^{General Clamour.} French commerce and naval power, were in danger of being lost by the restitution of Goree and Guadalupe; if not of the greatest part of our late conquests, to our perfidious and inveterate enemy; and by admitting them to a share in the fishery, to be a standing nursery of seamen for

submit to your lordship's consideration the single article of the numbers and value of the negroes sold there by the merchants of this town only: this your lordship will perceive, by the annexed list, to form by itself alone a most extraordinary and interesting object in the national commerce.

But your memorialists must not omit representing to your lordship, that the export of British manufactures from this town directly to Guadalupe, is of a prodigious value, and very little, if at all, inferior to their exports, to all other his Majesty's leeward West-Indian islands.

Prompted by these considerations of particular and national advantage, your memorialists intreat your lordship to lay before his Majesty their humble but earnest hopes, that the possession of Guadalupe, and its dependencies, so valuable at present, and so constantly and greatly increasing, may, if not incompatible with the general scheme of affairs, be deemed an object worthy of his Majesty's attention in the negotiation of a peace.

Your memorialists have the greatest confidence to lay this their humble and dutiful request before his Majesty, being impressed with the deepest sense of his Majesty's care and attention to the welfare of all his subjects, so apparent in every measure of his government.

Signed by 145 of the principal merchants.

The list referred to in the above memorial contained an account of 41 ships, the cargoes of which amounted to 12,347 slaves, and were sold for 334,605l. 11s. 2d. sterling.

A. D. 1762. the revival of their expiring naval force, that now laid sprawling, trembling, languishing and gasping under our fleet; unable to lift either hand or heel against us.

Conduct
of the ne-
gociators.

However, a peace was to be concluded at all events. The negociators drove on Jehu-like; they regarded neither the glory of the crown, nor the voice of the nation. The argument was, the French will not make peace on any other terms: we are resolved to have a peace: therefore we must agree to, and grant them their terms.

Such was the situation of affairs, when the preliminary articles were published by authority, signed on the 3d of November at Paris; and this signature was communicated, on the 8th of the same month, by a letter from the secretary of state's office to the Lord Mayor of London; in order to be made public throughout the metropolis of these kingdoms. How this advice was received by the people may be better conceived than described. They were averse to any peace, that should deprive Great Britain of the means to prevent another war, which it was now in her power to keep: and their disappointment was strongly represented in the disconsolate countenance, which every one saw in his neighbour.

Parlia-
ment o-
pened
with a
most gra-
cious
speech.

Nevertheless, on the 25th, his Majesty opened the session of parliament with a most gracious speech: by which he reminded them, That having ascended the throne at a time, when his kingdoms were engaged in a bloody and expensive war, he had resolved to prosecute it with vigour; but was deter-

determined to consent to peace upon just and honourable terms, whenever the events of war should incline the enemy to the same pacific disposition. That one negotiation had proved ineffectual : and that the war afterwards did become more general by the resolution of the court of Madrid to take part with the enemy, notwithstanding his Majesty's best endeavours to prevent it ; which, with the unexpected attack of his natural and good ally the King of Portugal, had greatly affected the commerce of his subjects, multiplied the objects of our military operations, and increased our difficulties, by adding to the heavy burdens under which this country already laboured. That his Majesty still aimed at an honourable peace, by pursuing this more extensive war in the most vigorous manner : for, though he had embraced an occasion offered him of renewing the negotiation, he had at the same time exerted so effectually the strength, which his parliament had put into his hands, and he had been so well served by his fleets and armies in the execution of his plans, that history could not furnish examples of greater glory, or greater advantages, acquired by the arms of this, or any other nation, in so short a period of time. All which his Majesty was pleased to exemplify by the many signal advantages gained during the course of this campaign, by Prince Ferdinand and his army in Germany, over an enemy superior in numbers : by stopping the progress of the French and Spanish arms in Portugal ; by the conquest of Martinico and other French islands in the

A. D.
1762.

A. D. 1762. West Indies ; and by the reduction of the Havana, a place of the most importance to Spain ; with which conquest fell a very considerable part of the Spanish navy into his hands. Here his Majesty gave his public testimony to the unwearied perseverance and unparalleled bravery of his officers and private men, by sea and land, who, by repeated proofs, had shewn, that no climate, no hardships, no dangers could check the ardour, or resist the valour of the British arms ; to whose courage and conduct, under God, his Majesty was pleased to ascribe the disposition of his enemies to accept of a peace on such terms, as, he trusted, would give his parliament entire satisfaction. That in due time he would order the preliminary articles, already signed by his minister, and by those of France and Spain, to be laid before them ; by which it would appear, that there was not only an immense territory added to the empire of Great Britain ; but a solid foundation was laid for the increase of trade and commerce ; and that the utmost care had been taken to remove all occasions of future disputes between his subjects and those of France and Spain : and that while he carefully attended to the essential interests of his own kingdoms, he had shewn the utmost regard to the good faith of his crown, and the interest of his allies, by securing all the dominions of Portugal to their King ; and obliging the armies of France to *evacuate* immediately, all the territories of the King of Prussia, and of his other allies in Germany, or elsewhere.

No

No body could speak fairer. How far the negociators kept up to the spirit and letter of the King's speech, is not our province to explain. Every body will be able to form their own ideas by comparing it with the preliminaries^w, which were

A. D.
1762.
Preliminary articles laid before the parliament.

^w *The preliminary articles of peace, between the Kings of Great Britain, France and Spain.*

[Published by AUTHORITY.]

In the name of the most Holy Trinity.

The King of Great Britain, and the most Christian King, animated with the reciprocal desire to re-establish union and good understanding between them, as well for the good of mankind in general, as for that of their respective kingdoms, states and subjects, having reflected, soon after the rupture between Great Britain and Spain, on the state of the negotiation of last year, (which unhappily had not the desired effect) as well as on the points in dispute between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain; their Britannic and most Christian Majesties began a correspondence to endeavour to find means to adjust the differences subsisting between their said Majesties. At the same time, the most Christian King having communicated to the King of Spain these happy dispositions, his Catholic Majesty was animated with the same zeal for the good of mankind, and that of his subjects, and resolved to extend and multiply the fruits of peace by his concurrence in such laudible intentions. Their Britannic, most Christian, and Catholic Majesties, having, in consequence, maturely considered all the above points, as well as the different events which have happened during the course of the present negotiation, have, by mutual consent, agreed on the following articles, which shall serve as a basis to the future treaty of peace. For which purpose, his Britannic Majesty has named and authorized, John Duke and Earl of Bedford, his Britannic Majesty's minister plenipotentiary to his most Christian Majesty; his most Christian

A. D. 1762. were next day notified to the public, by his Majesty's proclamation for a cessation of arms.

Majesty has named and authorized Cæsar Gabriel de Choiseul, Duke of Praslin; and his Catholic Majesty has likewise named and authorized Dom Jerome Grimaldi, Marquis de Grimaldi, his ambassador extraordinary to his most Christian Majesty: who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers in good form, have agreed on the following articles.

Article I. As soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, sincere friendship shall be re-established between his Britannic Majesty and his most Christian Majesty, and between his said Britannic Majesty and his Catholic Majesty, their kingdoms, states and subjects, by sea, and by land, in all parts of the world. Orders shall be sent to the armies and squadrons, as well as to the subjects, of the three powers, to stop all hostilities, and to live in the most perfect union, forgetting what has passed, of which their sovereigns give them the order and example; and, for the execution of this article, sea-passes shall be given, on each side, for the ships, which shall be dispatched to carry the news of it to the respective possessions of the three powers.

II. His most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions, which he has heretofore formed, or might have formed, to Nova-Scotia, or Acadia, in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, with all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain: moreover, his most Christian Majesty cedes, and guaranties to his said Britannic Majesty, in full right Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the Island of Cape Breton, and all the islands in the gulf and river St. Lawrence, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from this cession and guaranty, under any pretence, or to trouble Great Britain in the possessions above-mentioned. His Britannic Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant to the inhabitants of Canada, the liberty of the Catholic religion: he will, in consequence, give the most exact and the most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Roman church, as far as the

the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannic Majesty further agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others, who would have been subjects of the most Christian King in Canada, may retire in all safety and freedom, where-ever they please : and may sell their estates, provided it be to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, and transport their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except debts, or criminal prosecutions: the term limited for this emigration being fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the ratification of the definitive treaty.

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III. The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying, on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, such as it is specified in the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht ; which article shall be confirmed and renewed by the approaching definitive treaty, (except what regards the island of Cape Breton, as well as the other islands in the mouth and gulf of St. Lawrence ;) and his Britannic Majesty consents to leave to the most Christian King's subjects the liberty to fish in the gulf of St. Lawrence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent, as those of the islands situated in the said gulf of St. Lawrence. And as to what relates to the fishery out of the said gulph, his most Christian Majesty's subjects shall not exercise the fishery, but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape Breton.

IV. The King of Great Britain cedes the islands of St. Peter and of Miquelon, in full right to his most Christian Majesty, to serve as a shelter for the French Fishermen ; and his said Majesty obliges himself, on his royal word, not to fortify the said islands ; to erect no building there but merely for the conveniency of the fishery ; and to keep there only a guard of fifty men for the police.

V. The town and port of Dunkirk shall be put into the state fixed by the late treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and by former treaties : the Cunette shall remain as it now is, provided that the English engineers, named by his Britannic Majesty,
and

A. D. and received at Dunkirk, by order of his most Christian Majesty, 1762. verify, that this Cunette is only of use for the wholesomeness of the air, and the health of the inhabitants.

VI. In order to re-establish peace on the most solid and lasting foundation, and to remove for ever, every subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, and those of his most Christian Majesty, in that part of the world, shall be irrevocably fixed by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source, as far as the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and of the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and to this purpose, the most Christian King cedes in full right, and guarantees to his Britannic Majesty, the river and port of Mobile, and every thing that he possesses, or ought to have possessed, on the left side of the Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain, as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and that part expressly which is between the said island of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is further stipulated that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation, shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, inserted in the second article, shall also take place, with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

VII. The King of Great Britain shall restore to France the islands of Guadalupe, of Marigalante, of Desirade, of Martinico, and of Belleisle, and the fortresses of these islands shall be restored in the same condition they were in, when they were conquered by the British arms; provided that the term of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the ratification of the definitive treaty, shall be granted to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, who may have settled in the said islands, and other places restored to France by the definitive treaty,

treaty, to sell their estates, recover their debts and to transport their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained, on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debt, or of criminal prosecutions.

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VIII. The most Christian King cedes and guaranties to his Britannic Majesty, in full right, the islands of Grenada, and the Grenadines, with the same stipulations, in favour of the inhabitants of the colony, as are inserted in the II^d article for those of Canada: and the partition of the islands called Neutral, is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominico and Tobago, shall remain in full right to England, and that that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France, to enjoy the same in like manner in full right: the two crowns reciprocally guarantying to each other the partition so stipulated.

IX. His Britannic Majesty shall restore to France the island of Goree, in the condition it was in when conquered: and his most Christian Majesty cedes in full right, and guaranties to the King of Great Britain, Senegal.

X. In the East Indies, Great Britain shall restore to France the several comptoirs which that crown had, on the coast of Coromandel, as well as on that of Malabar, and also in Bengal, at the commencement of hostilities, between the two companies in the year 1749, in the condition in which they now are, on condition that his most Christian Majesty renounces the acquisitions which he has made on the coast of Coromandel, since the said commencement of hostilities between the two companies in the year 1749.

His most Christian Majesty, on his side, shall restore all that he shall have conquered from Great Britain, in the East Indies during the present war; and he also engages not to erect any fortifications, or to keep any troops in Bengal.

XI. The island of Minorca shall be restored to his Britannic Majesty, as well as fort St. Philip, in the same condition they were in when they were conquered by the arms of the most Christian King; and with the artillery that was there at the taking of the said island, and of the said fort.

XII. France shall restore all the countries belonging to the Electorate of Hanover, to the Landgrave of Hesse, to the Duke of Brunswick, and to the Count of La Lippe Buckebourg,

A. D. 1762. bourg, which are or shall be occupied by the arms of his most Christian Majesty : the fortresses of these different countries shall be restored in the same condition they were in, when they were conquered by the French arms; and the pieces of artillery which shall have been carried elsewhere, shall be replaced by the same number, of the same bore, weight and metal; as to what regards hostages exacted or given during the war to this day, they shall be sent back without ransom.

XIII. After the ratification of the preliminaries, France shall evacuate, as soon as it can be done, the fortresses of Cleves, Wesel, and Gueldres, and in general all the countries belonging to the King of Prussia; and, at the same time, the British and French armies shall evacuate all the countries which they occupy, or may then occupy, in Westphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and in all the empire; and each shall retire into the dominions of their respective sovereigns; and their Britannic and most Christian Majesties further engage, and promise, not to furnish any succour, of any kind, to their respective allies, who shall continue engaged in the present war in Germany.

XIV. The towns of Ostend and Nieuport shall be evacuated by his most Christian Majesty's troops, immediately after the signature of the present preliminaries.

XV. The decision of the prizes made on the Spaniards by the subjects of Great Britain, in time of peace, shall be referred to the courts of justice of the admiralty of Great Britain, conformably to the rules established among all nations, so that the validity of the said prizes, between the British and Spanish nations shall be decided and judged, according to the law of nations, and according to treaties, in the courts of justice of the nation, who shall have made the capture.

XVI. His Britannic Majesty shall cause all the fortifications to be demolished, which his subjects shall have erected in the bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the definitive treaty; and his Catholic Majesty shall not, for the future, suffer the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, or their workmen, to be disturbed or molested, under any pretence whatsoever, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying

ing away logwood ; and for this purpose, they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects ; and his said Catholic Majesty assures to them by this article, the entire enjoyment of what is above stipulated.

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XVII. His Catholic Majesty desists from all pretensions, which he may have formed to the right of fishing about the island of Newfoundland.

XVIII. The King of Great Britain shall restore to Spain all that he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with the fortresses of the Havanna : and that fortresses, as well as all the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when they were conquered by his Britannic Majesty's arms.

XIX. In consequence of the restitution stipulated in the preceding article, his Catholic Majesty cedes and guaranties, in full right to his Britannic Majesty, all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America, to the east, or to the south east of the river Mississippi. And his Britannic Majesty agrees to grant to the inhabitants of this country, above ceded, the liberty of the Catholic religion : he will, in consequence, give the most exact and the most effectual orders that his new Roman catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Roman church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannic Majesty farther agrees, that the Spanish inhabitants, or others who would have been subjects of the Catholic King in the said countries, may retire, in all safety and freedom, where ever they please ; and may sell their estates, provided it be to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, and transport their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except debts, or criminal prosecutions : the terms limited for this emigration, being fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the ratification of the definitive treaty. It is further stipulated, that his Catholic Majesty shall have power to cause all the effects, that belong to him, either artillery, or others, to be carried away.

XX. The

A. D. 1762. XX. The King of Portugal, his Britannic Majesty's ally, is expressly included in the present preliminary articles. And their most Christian and Catholic Majesties engage to re-establish the ancient peace and friendship between them and his most Faithful Majesty : and they promise,

1st, That there shall be a total cessation of hostilities between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, and between the Spanish and French troops, on the one side, and the Portugueze troops, and those of their allies, on the other, immediately after the ratification of these preliminaries : and that there shall be a like cessation of hostilities between the respective forces of the most Christian and Catholic Kings, on the one part, and those of the most Faithful King, on the other, in all parts of the world, as well by sea as by land : which cessation shall be fixed on the same epochs, and under the same conditions, as that between Great Britain, France, and Spain, and shall continue to the conclusion of the definitive treaty between Great Britain, France, Spain and Portugal.

2d. That all his most Faithful Majesties fortresses, and countries, in Europe, which shall have been conquered by the Spanish and French armies, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when they were conquered : and that, with regard to the Portugueze colonies in America, or elsewhere, if any change shall have happened in them, all things shall be put again on the same footing they were before the present war. And the most Faithful King shall be invited to accede to the present preliminary articles as soon as shall be possible.

XXI. All the countries and territories, which may have been conquered, in any part of the world whatsoever, by the arms of their Britannic and most Faithful Majesties, as well as by those of their most Christian and Catholic Majesties, which are not included in the present articles, either under the title of cessions, or under the title of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring compensations.

XXII. As it is necessary to assign a fixed epoch for the restitutions, and the evacuations, to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, that the British and French troops shall proceed, immediately after the ratification of the preliminaries to the evacuation of the countries which they occupy

occupy in the Empire or elsewhere, conformable to the XIIth A. D. and XIIIth articles. 1762.

The island of Belleisle shall be evacuated six weeks after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner if it can be done.

Guadalupe, Desiderade, Mariagalante, Martinico, and St. Lucia, three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner if it can be done.

Great Britain shall likewise, at the end of three months, after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner, if it can be done, enter into the possession of the river and of the port of Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of territory of Great Britain, on the side of the river Mississippi, as they are specified in the VIth article.

The island of Goree shall be evacuated by Great Britain, three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty; and the island of Minorca by France, at the same epoch, or sooner, if it can be done. And according to the conditions of the IVth article, France shall also enter into possession of the island of St. Peter, and of Miquelon, at the end of three months.

The comptoirs in the East Indies shall be restored six months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner if it can be done.

The island of Cuba, with the fortrefs of the Havanna, shall be restored three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner, if it can be done: and, at the same time, Great Britain shall enter into possession of the country ceded by Spain according to the XIXth article.

All the fortresses, and countries, of his most Faithful Majesty, in Europe, shall be restored immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty; and the Portugeze colonies, which may have been conquered, shall be restored in the space of three months in the West Indies, and of six months in the East Indies, after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner, if it can be done.

In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports.

A. D. 1762. ports for the ships, which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

XXIII. All the treaties, of what nature soever, which existed, before the present war, as well between their Britannic and most Christian Majesties, as between their Britannic and Catholic Majesties, as also between any of the above-named powers and his most Faithful Majesty, shall be, as they are in effect, renewed, and confirmed, in all their points, which are not derogated from by the present preliminary articles, notwithstanding whatever may have been stipulated to the contrary by any of the high contracting parties; and all the said parties declare that they will not suffer any privilege, favour, or indulgence, to subsist, contrary to the treaties above-mentioned.

XXIV. The prisoners made respectively by the arms of their Britannic, and most Christian, Catholic, and most Faithful Majesties, by land and by sea, shall be restored reciprocally, and *bona fide*, after the ratification of the definitive treaty, without ransom, paying the debts they shall have contracted during their captivity. And each crown shall respectively pay the advances which shall have been made for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained: according to the receipts and attested accounts, and other authentic titles which shall be furnished on each side.

XXV. In order to prevent all causes of complaints, and disputes, which may arise, on account of ships, merchandizes, and other effects, which may be taken by sea, it is reciprocally agreed, that the ships, merchandizes, and effects, which may be taken in the channel, and in the North Seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the ratification of the present preliminary articles, shall be reciprocally restored on each side.

That the term shall be six weeks for the prizes taken, from the Channel, the British Seas, and the North Seas, as far as the Canary islands inclusive, either in the ocean, or in the mediterranean.

Three months from the said Canary islands as far as the Æquinoctial line, or Æquator.

Lastly,

Lastly, six months, beyond the said *Æquinoctial* line, or A. D. *Equator*, and in all other parts of the world, without any 1762. exception, or other more particular description of time and place.

XXVI. The ratifications of the preliminary articles shall be expedited in good and due form, and exchanged in the space of one month, or sooner if it can be done, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present articles.

In witness whereof, we the under-written ministers plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, of his most Christian Majesty, and of his Catholic Majesty, in virtue of our respective full powers, have signed the present preliminary articles, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Fontainebleau, the third day of November, 1762.

BEDFORD, C. P. S.

(L. S.)

CHOISEUL, DUC DE PRASLIN.

(L. S.)

EL MARQ. DE GRIMALDI.

(L. S.)

Declaration, signed at Fontainebleau, the 3d of November, 1762, by the French Plenipotentiary, relating to the XIIIth article of the preliminaries.

His most Christian Majesty declares, that in agreeing to the XIIIth article of the preliminaries, signed this day, he does not mean to renounce the right of acquitting his debts to his allies; and that the remittances made on his part, in order to acquit the arrears that may be due on the subsidies of preceding years, are not to be considered as an infraction of the said article.

In witness whereof, I, the under-written minister-plenipotentiary of his most Christian Majesty, have signed the present declaration, and have caused the seal of my arms to be put thereto.

Done at Fontainebleau, the third day of November, 1762.

CHOISEUL DE PRASLIN,

(L. S.)

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The

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The Duke de Nivernois had previously ^x been admitted to an audience, and produced to his Majesty credentials, as ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary from the King of France, with a most fulsome flattering address ^y.

The preliminaries were in due time, as his Majesty promised, laid before both houses of parliament. They did not appear to all the members so honourable, safe and adequate, as the dignity of the crown, the interests of the nation and the successes of our arms might have expected. Many of the greatest men in both houses undertook to shew, that they were not only inadequate, but disadvantageous and insecure,

Opposed
in parliament.

^x On the 24th of November.

^y *The French ambassador's speech to his Britannic Majesty on this occasion.*

S I R,

A cordial reconciliation between two powerful monarchs, formed to love each other; a permanent union of systems between two great courts attracted to one another by their interests rightly understood; and a sincere and lasting conjunction of two respectable nations, whom unhappy prejudices have too long divided; form the glorious æra of the commencement of your Majesty's reign: and this æra will, at the same time, be that of happiness restored to the four quarters of the world. Your Majesty's name, your glory, and your virtues, will be inseparably joined in history, with universal felicity: and posterity will there read, with sentiments of respect, that treaty which will be distinguished, above all others, by good faith, without equivocation, and by permanent stability.

Permit me, Sir, to felicitate myself at your feet, on being chosen by the King, my master, to serve, between your Majesty and him, as the organ of the noble sentiments of two hearts so worthy of each other, and to be employed in this blessed work, which insures your Majesty's glory by giving happiness to the whole world.

deprived Great Britain of many valuable acquisitions, and branches of trade and commerce, and restored our enemies unto a state and condition to disturb our peace, and to resume their grand projects of ambition and universal dominion. But they were approved of by a majority. After very warm debates and unanswerable arguments against those preliminaries, the ministry divided the house upon the motion, and carried that by numbers, as on other occasions, which they could not support by just and rational arguments: but as the minority were in very high esteem with the people, and universally venerated for their wisdom, integrity, and love for our King and country, this mode of approbation had very little weight without doors; and the people as much as ever detested some of the articles, which they apprehended were disadvantageous and insecure, and condemned the whole, as by far, inadequate to our successes, and to the damages sustained, in so long, bloody, and expensive a war, provoked by the perfidy, and continued by the obstinacy of our enemies.

However, it had been determined there should be a peace founded upon those preliminaries: and such expedition was made in the forwarding the definitive treaty, that it was executed on the 10th of February 1763, without any material alteration in

** The definitive treaty of peace and friendship, between his Britannic Majesty, the most Christian King, and the King of Spain. Concluded at Paris, the 10th day of February, 1763.*

Article I. There shall be a christian, universal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant

A. D. 1763. in favour of Great Britain, and with so much flight of the interest of his Prussian Majesty, that it

stant friendship shall be re-established between their Britannic, most Christian, Catholic, and most Faithful Majesties, and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, subjects, and vassals, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception of places, or of persons ; so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to maintain between themselves and their said dominions and subjects, this reciprocal friendship and correspondence, without permitting, on either side, any kind of hostilities, by sea or by land, to be committed, from henceforth, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever, and every thing shall be carefully avoided, which might, hereafter, prejudice the union happily re-established, applying themselves, on the contrary, on every occasion, to procure for each other whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantages, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would cause any prejudice to either of the high contracting parties : there shall be a general oblivion of every thing that may have been done or committed before, or since, the commencement of the war, which is just ended.

II. The treaties of Westphalia of 1648 ; those of Madrid between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain of 1667, and 1670 ; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678, and 1679 ; of Ryswick of 1679 ; those of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713 ; that of Baden of 1714 ; the treaty of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717 ; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718 : the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738 ; the definitive treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748 ; and that of Madrid, between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, of 1750 ; as well as the treaties between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, of the 13th of February 1668 ; of the 6th of February 1715 ; and of the 12th of February 1761 ; and that of the 11th of April 1713, between France and Portugal,

it increased the public discontent : and the day of A. D.
the peace's proclamation, instead of rejoicings, 1763.
was Remarks.

tugal, with the guaranties of Great Britain ; serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty : and for this purpose, they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, as well as all the treaties in general, which subsisted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were inserted here word by word, so that they are to be exactly observed, for the future, in their whole tenor, and religiously executed on all sides, in all their points which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty, notwithstanding all that may have been stipulated to the contrary by any of the high contracting parties : and all the said parties declare, that they will not suffer any privilege, favour, or indulgence, to subsist, contrary to the treaties above confirmed, except what shall have been agreed and stipulated by the present treaty.

III. All the prisoners made, on all sides, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away, or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, each crown respectively paying the advances, which shall have been made for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the attested receipts and estimates, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on one side and the other : and securities shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners shall have contracted in the countries, where they have been detained, until their entire liberty. And all the ships of war and merchant vessels, which shall have been taken, since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall be likewise restored *bona fide*, with all their crews and cargoes : and the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

A. D. 1763. was solemnized with tokens of a general dissatis-
faction and mourning, for the loss of the best
fruits

IV. His most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions, which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia, or Acadia, in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain: moreover, his most Christian Majesty cedes, and guaranties to his said Britannic Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands, and coasts, in the gulph and river St. Laurence, and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the most Christian King, and the crowns of France, have had, till now, over the said countries, islands, lands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants, so that the most Christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guaranty, under any pretence, or to disturb Great Britain in the possessions above-mentioned. His Britannic Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will, consequently, give the most precise and most effectual orders, that his new Roman catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannic Majesty further agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the most Christian King in Canada, may retire, with all safety and freedom, wherever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions: the term, limited for this emigration, shall be
fixed

fruits of our arms : and for the honour of the crown and the national faith, which suffered greatly, A. D. 1763.
in

fixed to the space of 18 months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

V. The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying, on a part of the coast of the island of Newfoundland, such as is specified in the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht ; which article is renewed and confirmed by the present treaty, (except what relates to the island of Cape Breton, as well as to the other islands and coasts, in the mouth and in the gulph of St. Laurence :) and his Britannic Majesty consents to leave to the subjects of the most Christian King, the liberty of fishing in the Gulph St. Laurence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent, as those of the islands situated in the said Gulph St. Laurence. And as to what relates to the fishery on the coasts of the island of Cape Breton out of the said Gulph, the subjects of the most Christian King shall not be permitted to exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of 15 leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape Breton ; and the fishery on the coast of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and every where out of the said Gulph, shall remain on the foot of former treaties.

[The 13th article in the treaty of Utrecht, here alluded to, runs in these words :

“ Article XIII. The island called Newfoundland, with the adjacent islands, shall from this time forward belong of right wholly to Britain ; and to that end the town and fortrefs of Placentia, and whatever other places in the said island are in the possession of the French, shall be yielded and given up, within seven months from the exchange of the ratification of this treaty, or sooner, if possible, by the most Christian King, to those who have a commission from the Queen of Great Britain for that purpose. Nor shall the most Christian King, his heirs and successors, or any of their subjects, at any time hereafter, lay claim to any right to the said island and islands, or to any part of it, or them. Moreover

A. D. 1763. in the opinion of the public, by leaving the King of Prussia to the mercy of the French; or for the

it shall not be lawful for the subjects of France to fortify any place in the said island of Newfoundland, or to erect any buildings there, besides stages made of boards, and huts necessary and usual for drying of fish: or to resort to the said island, beyond the time necessary for fishing and drying of fish. But it shall be allowed to the subjects of France to catch fish, and dry them on land, in that part only, and in no other besides that, of the said island of Newfoundland, which stretches from the place called Cape Bonavista to the northern point of the said island; and from thence running down by the western side, reaches as far as the place called Point Reche. But the island called Cape Breton, as also all others, both in the mouth of the river St. Laurence, and in the Gulph of the same, shall hereafter belong of right to the French; and the most Christian King shall have all manner of liberty to fortify any place or places there."]

VI. The King of Great Britain cedes the island of St Pierre and Michelon, in full right, to his most Christian Majesty, to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen: and his said most Christian Majesty engages not to fortify the said islands; to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fishery; and to keep upon them a guard of 50 men only for the police.

VII. In order to re-establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, and those of his most Christian Majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and for this purpose, the most Christian King cedes in full right, and guaranties to his Britannic Majesty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess,

the Prussian hero to *scramble for* Cleves, Wesel, A. D. 1763.
 Guelders, and other places taken from him by
 the

possess, on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island on which it is situated, which shall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain, as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth; it is further stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation, shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations, inserted in the IVth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, shall also take place, with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

VIII. The King of Great Britain shall restore to France the islands of Guadalupé, of Marie Galante, of Desirade, of Martinico, and of Belleisle; and the fortresses of these islands shall be restored in the same condition they were in, when they were conquered by the British arms; provided that his Britannic Majesty's subjects, who shall have settled in the said islands, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, or in the other places restored to France, by the present treaty, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels, which they shall be permitted to send to the said islands, and other places restored as above, and which shall serve for this use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: and, for this purpose, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; but, as the liberty granted to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons

A. D. 1763. the French. For, though it was stipulated, that the French should *evacuate* and RESTORE the in-consider-

persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed upon between his Britannic Majesty, and his most Christian Majesty, that the number of English vessels, which shall have leave to go to the said islands and places restored to France, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only, all the effects, belonging to the English, being to be embarked at the same time. It has been further agreed, that his most Christian Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two French clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing-places, and ports of the said islands and places, restored to France, and that the merchandize, that shall be found therein, shall be confiscated.

IX. The most Christian King cedes and guaranties to his Britannic Majesty, in full right, the islands of Grenada, and of the Grenadines, with the same stipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, inserted in the IVth article for those of Canada: and the partition of the islands, called neutral, is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, shall remain in full right to Great Britain, and that that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France, to enjoy the same likewise in full right; and the high contracting parties guaranty the partition so stipulated.

X. His Britannic Majesty shall restore to France the island of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered: and his most Christian Majesty cedes, in full right, and guaranties to the King of Great Britain the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor and Galam, and with all the rights and dependencies of the said river Senegal.

XI. In the East Indies, Great Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories, which
that

considerable conquests they had made in Hano-
 ver, Hesse, Brunswic, &c. the important places
 taken

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that crown possessed, as well on the coast of Coromandel, and Orixá, as on that of Malabar, as also in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And his most Christian Majesty renounces all pretension to the acquisition which he had made on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, since the said beginning of the year 1749. His most Christian Majesty shall restore on his side, all that he may have conquered from Great Britain, in the East Indies, during the present war; and will expressly cause Nattal and Tapanoully, in the island of Sumatra, to be restored; he engages further, not to erect fortifications or to keep troops in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal. And in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, the English and French shall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for lawful Nabob of the Carnatick, and Salabat Jíng for lawful Subah of the Decan; and both parties shall renounce all demands and pretensions of satisfaction, with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for the depredations, or pillage, committed, on the one side, or on the other, during the war.

XII. The island of Minorca shall be restored to his Britannic Majesty, as well as fort St. Philip, in the same condition they were in, when conquered by the arms of the most Christian King; and with the artillery which was there, when the said island and the said fort were taken.

XIII. The town and port of Dunkirk shall be put into the state fixed by the last treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and by former treaties. The cunette shall be destroyed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, as well as the forts and batteries which defend the entrance on the side of the sea; and provision shall be made, at the same time, for the wholesomeness of the air, and for the health of the inhabitants, by some other means, to the satisfaction of the King of Great Britain.

XIV. France

A. D. taken from the King of Prussia, were agreed only
1763, to be evacuated NOT restored.

The

XIV. France shall restore all the countries belonging to the Electorate of Hanover, to the Landgrave of Hesse, to the Duke of Brunswick, and to the Count of La Lippe Buckeburg, which are, or shall be occupied by his most Christian Majesty's arms: the fortresses of these different countries shall be restored in the same condition they were in, when conquered by the French arms; and the pieces of artillery, which shall have been carried elsewhere, shall be replaced by the same number, of the same bore, weight and metal.

XV. In case the stipulations, contained in the XIIIth article of the preliminaries, should not be compleated at the time of the signature of the present treaty, as well with regard to the evacuations to be made by the armies of France of the fortresses of Cleves, Wesel, Guelders, and of all the countries belonging to the King of Prussia, as with regard to the evacuations to be made by the British and French armies of the countries which they occupy in Westphalia, Lower Saxony, on the lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and in all the empire, and to the retreat of the troops into the dominions of their respective Sovereigns; their Britannic and most Christian Majesties promise to proceed, *bona fide*, with all the dispatch the case will admit of, to the said evacuations, the entire completion whereof they stipulate before the 15th of March next, or sooner, if it can be done; and their Britannic and most Christian Majesties further engage, and promise to each other, not to furnish any succours, of any kind, to their respective allies, who shall continue to engage in the war in Germany.

[Article XIII. of the preliminaries. After the ratification of the preliminaries, France shall evacuate, as soon as it can be done, the fortresses of Cleves, Wesel, and Guelders, and in general all the countries belonging to the King of Prussia; and, at the same time, the British and French armies shall evacuate all the countries which they occupy, or may then occupy in Westphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and in all the empire; and each shall retire into the domi-

nions

The Prussian ministers in London could not A.D. 1763.
look upon such a partiality, in derogation of that

mutual Prussian
ministers
protest.

nions of their respective Sovereigns : and their Britannic and most Christian Majesties further engage and promise, not to furnish any succour, of any kind, to their respective allies, who shall continue engaged in the present war in Germany.]

XVI. The decision of the prizes made, in time of peace, by the subjects of Great Britain, on the Spaniards, shall be referred to the courts of justice of the admiralty of Great Britain, conformably to the rules established among all nations, so that the validity of the said prizes, between the British and Spanish nations, shall be decided and judged according to the law of nations, and according to treaties, in the courts of justice of the nation, who shall have made the capture.

XVII. His Britannic Majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the present treaty ; and his Catholic Majesty shall not permit his Britannic Majesty's subjects, or their workmen, to be disturbed, or molested, under any pretence whatsoever, in the said places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood : and for this purpose, they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines which are necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects : and his Catholic Majesty assures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of those advantages and powers, on the Spanish coasts and territories, as above stipulated, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

XVIII. His Catholic Majesty desists, as well for himself as for his successors, from all pretension, which he may have formed, in favour of the Guipuscoans, and other his subjects, to the right of fishing in the neighbourhood of the island of Newfoundland.

XIX. The King of Great Britain shall restore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with

A. D. mutual agreement concerning peace and war, be-
 1763, tween Great Britain and Prussia, which had been,
 in

with the fortress of the Havanna, and this fortress, as well as all the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by his Britannic Majesty's arms; provided that his Britannic Majesty's subjects, who shall have settled in the said island, restored to Spain by the present treaty, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, shall have liberty to sell their lands, and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels which they shall be permitted to send to the said island restored as above, and which shall serve for that use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions; and, for this purpose, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty: but as the liberty, granted to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons, and their effects in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed, between his Britannic Majesty, and his Catholic Majesty, that the number of English vessels, which shall have leave to go to the said island restored to Spain, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the English, being to be embarked at the same time; it has been further agreed, that his Catholick Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two Spanish clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing places, and ports of the said island restored to Spain, and that the merchandize, which shall be found therein, shall be confiscated.

in some measure, the cause of the losses he had A. D.
sustained in the Netherlands: and they thought 1763.
their

XX. In consequence of the restitution stipulated in the preceding article, his Catholic Majesty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannic Majesty, Florida, with Fort St. Augustine, and the bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America, to the east, or to the south east, of the river Mississippi. And, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights, acquired by treaties or otherwise, which the Catholic King, and the crown of Spain, have had, till now, over the said countries, lands, places, and their inhabitants; so that the Catholic King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form. His Britannic Majesty agrees, on his side, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries, above ceded, the liberty of the Catholic religion: he will consequently give the most express and the most effectual orders, that his new Roman catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rights of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit: his Britannic Majesty further agrees, that the Spanish inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the Catholic King in the said countries, may retire, with all safety and freedom, wherever they think proper; and may sell their estates, provided it be to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: the term, limited for this emigration, being fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty. It is moreover stipulated, that his Catholic Majesty shall have power to cause all the effects, that may belong to him, to be brought away, whether it be artillery, or other things.

XXI. The

A. D. 1763. their royal master so hardly treated by such a vague and partial stipulation, unbecoming an ally, that,

XXI. The French and Spanish troops shall evacuate all the territories, lands, towns, places, and castles, of his most Faithful Majesty, in Europe, without any reserve, which shall have been conquered by the armies of France and Spain, and shall restore them in the same condition they were in when conquered, with the same artillery, and ammunition, which were found there; and with regard to the Portuguese colonies in America, Africa, or in the East Indies, if any change shall have happened there, all things shall be restored on the same footing they were in, and conformable to the preceding treaties, which subsisted between the courts of France, Spain, and Portugal, before the present war.

XXII. All the papers, letters, documents, and archives, which were found in the countries, territories, towns, and places, that are restored, and those belonging to the countries ceded, shall be respectively, and *bona fide*, delivered, or furnished at the same time, if possible, that possession is taken, or, at latest, four months after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, in whatever places the said papers or documents may be found.

XXIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been conquered, in whatsoever part of the world, by the arms of their Britannic and most Faithful Majesties, as well as by those of their most Christian and Catholic Majesties, which are not included in the present treaty, either under the title of cessions, or under the title of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

XXIV. *Relates only to the epochs of restitutions and evacuations.*

XXV. His Britannic Majesty, as Elector of Brunswick Lunenbourg, as well for himself, as for his heirs and successors, and all the dominions and possessions of his said Majesty in Germany, are included and guarantied by the present treaty of peace.

XXVI. Their

that, with a becoming resolution and firmness, they entered a protest against the contents of the treaty, so far as it respected the King their master. On the other hand, the Austrians, expecting, or perhaps promised, to avail themselves of this partiality, and to get possession of these Prussian territories by a timely *evacuation* made to their troops by the French; they marched a large body of troops for that purpose. The event of this was of the greatest consequence to the Empress-Queen and to his Prussian Majesty, in their approaching

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XXVI. Their sacred Britannic, most Christian, Catholic, and most Faithful Majesties, promise to observe, sincerely and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and settled in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly, or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said high contracting parties, generally and reciprocally, guaranty to each other all the stipulations of the present treaty.

XXVII. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, exhibited in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Paris, between the high contracting parties, in the space of a month, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten, their ambassador, extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary, have signed with our hands, in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, the present definite treaty, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the tenth day of February, 1763.

BEDFORD, C. P. S.

(L. S.)

CHOISEUL, DUC. DE PRASLIN.

(L. S.)

EL MARQ. DE GRIMALDI.

(L. S.)

VOL. V.

G g

negoci-

A. D. negotiations for a peace. Therefore the King of
 1763. Prussia did also march a large body to defeat those
 Guelders expectations. These motions threatened the Ne-
 &c. how therlands with becoming the theatre of war. This
 recovered alarmed France ; because it was foreseen, that she
 by the would be under a necessity of taking part in that
 King of war, by what means soever kindled. And this ne-
 Prussia. cessity disposed the French to treat with the King of
 Prussia, and to deliver up all those places to HIM,
 on condition he would sign a neutrality for the Ne-
 therlands. This proposal being accepted, France
 had the honour to boast, that *she* restored those pla-
 ces to the King of Prussia, which according to the
 maxims of good faith, ought to have been stipulat-
 ed for him by England his ally.

The con- Thus we are arrived at the end of a war, into
 clusion of which his Britannic Majesty had been driven by
 the history necessity, and the justice he owed his subjects :
 which he continued with vigour and humanity,
 and with no other intention, than to oblige his ene-
 mies to submit to a safe, honourable and lasting
 peace. Whereas the least impartial attention to
 the facts recorded in this history, will easily dis-
 cover, that our enemies did not enter into this war,
 with such pacific dispositions ; and that they did not
 pursue it with that humanity and temper, which
 is apparent in all our actions : but on the contra-
 ry, that they, by taking up arms, in the time
 of peace, were intent upon the oppression of their
 peaceable neighbours ; and not to be prevailed upon
 to attend to the voice of peace ; till their strength
 was consumed ; or that they could find an oppor-
 tunity,

unity to defeat our successes, in the field, by the intrigues of a cabinet. A. D. 1763.

The French and Spaniards were the aggressors in this war. Their motives were ambition, envy and hatred.—The French perfidiously encroached upon our American territories; and, in time of profound peace, formed a plan, and began, with its execution, to drive the English out of America, and thereby to annihilate, or to reduce our trade and navigation to a dependence on their naval power and commerce.—The Spaniards, having enjoyed all the advantages of peace, during a long and bloody war between England and France, more perfidiously joined our enemies, without provocation, or any visible motive, than to force England to submit to such conditions of peace, as might best favour the designs of the Bourbon family. Whereas, if we turn our thoughts to the English, we may trace their real object throughout the whole war, to gain an honourable, firm and lasting peace. They did not take up arms, till necessity obliged them to defend their property, and to repel force by force: neither did they prosecute the war with any other view, or upon any other plan, than to compel the enemy to accept of such conditions, as might leave no embers for a new war. By this conduct the English not only recovered their losses by the encroachments of the French, but drove them out of North America; a necessary measure for the security of the English empire from the encroachments and hostilities of a perfidious, restless and ambitious neighbour, and to establish a safe and lasting peace on that continent. The schemes formed by the

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French for monopolizing the whole trade on the coast of Africa, called aloud for redress and deliverance, which could not be otherwise effected, than by the reduction of Goree and Senegal. The loss of Minorca, and the extraordinary preparations to invade some of the British isles, justified the several expeditions made against the coast of France, and the activity of our fleets, which were employed to prevent the carrying of those invasions into execution. The miseries brought upon Hanover, and our other German allies, under no other pretence than their being connected by the ties of friendship with England, required our utmost efforts to save them from destruction. The French fortifications in the East, their intrigues with the Nabobs and other Indian chiefs, in prejudice to the English and the continual augmentation of their fleet, which threatened the total ruin of our trade and navigation beyond the line, roused that spirit of resentment, wisdom and courage, which has divested them of all power and influence; destroyed their navy, and driven them from those strong holds, in which they had placed their dependence.—The danger that threatened our Leeward Islands, by the French settling and fortifying the neutral isles, by the open violation of treaties; and the preparations at Martinico and Guadalupe for invading Jamaica, drew the attention of our arms towards the West Indies: and made it necessary to deprive our enemies of those places, from whence they hoped to have done us the most harm.—And the union of the House of Bourbon against England, which devoted Portugal to be a sacrifice to their family interest;

terest; and whose efficacy depended upon the impregnability of the Havanna, the inexhaustible treasure of the Spanish Indies, and upon an exclusive trade to South America obliged us to extend the war, in order to blow up their strength on the island of Cuba, to intercept or lock up their riches beyond the ocean, to open a free trade for our merchants to New Spain, and protect our most faithful ally in the south of Europe.

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Thus you see, that the means made use of by England in this war, to bring about an honourable, firm and lasting peace, were not prompted by any oppressive motives; but were the necessary measures and operations, dictated and directed by the perfidy, ambition and obstinacy of the enemy; and that we did not take one step in this war, but what immediately tended to weaken our enemies in those parts, on which they placed their greatest dependence to hurt us.

And while the French were in a condition to encounter our fleets, to interrupt our commerce and navigation, to dispute our property, and to face our armies in North America; to bid defiance to our armaments beyond the Line; to alarm our coasts, and to get home the produce of their colonies: to burn, destroy and depopulate the countries of our allies: and when they had availed themselves of that additional strength arising from the Family-Compact with the Spanish Monarch, our enemies were deaf to the voice of peace: Pondicherry was an eternal bar to a reconciliation in the East: Louisbourg, and the forces of Canada, fed their ambition with hopes

A. D. 1763. of conquering North America and its fishery : Martinico and Guadalupe were thought equal for any attempt upon our Sugar Islands : and the Havanna was provided to give laws to the windward navigation, to annoy our trade, and to deprive us of the advantages of all our conquests in the Western Ocean.

Therefore, by comparing the different objects of the belligerent powers, in regard to peace and war ; and by duly weighing the motives for entering into, and the means of carrying on the war, it will appear most evidently, That the English, and their allies, were the only parties that fought for a firm and lasting peace by their arms.

To conclude, it is with the utmost sincerity and gratitude we acknowledge the many obligations we are under to those gentlemen, through whose favour we have been indulged with materials to record the motives, plans and event required to ascertain the cause, intention and execution of the most important transactions, during this long, bloody and most expensive war. At the same time we are truly sensible of the honour done us by the candid public, whose extraordinary encouragement conveys the strongest recommendation of the impartiality and veracity of this history, which contains victories and conquests, not to be equalled in the annals of this or any other nation ; and successes and acquisitions, that establish the dignity of the British crown, the terror of the British arms, and the commercial interest of our nation in every quarter of the universe.

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